THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

T·L·S

23 APRIL 1970

No. 3,556

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Theatres and Exhibitions

T·L·S THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THURSDAY 30 APRIL 1970 • No. 3,557 • ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE

THE LIBRARY - THE UNIVERSITY OF JORDAN

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE INTELLECT

The miasma and the menace

BY NOËL ANNAN

CONTROVERSY is usually a dispiriting pastime, and controversy with Dr. Leavis is ...ing. Degrading because you[r] ... his personal animosity puts a strain on your temper and ... that to your horror you ... yourself on the point of re... ... in his own tone of voice. ... year in his Bangor lecture ... May 29, 1969) Dr. Leavis ...ed that the universities must ... themselves of the sickness of ... unrest, violence, drugs, sex... ...tion and absenteeism with ... I had been infecting them. What likelihood was there of ...happening when students were ...urged by Vice-Chancellors to ...ibe their curricula and set ...own examinations—by smiling ...Chancellors, such as I, the ... of pop art and the culture ... telly? The cause of this ... was the movement he ... "the enlightenment", of ... he maintained I was a leader. ... was the enemy we had to fight ... go on fighting "in what for ... is the *creative* battle". ... year in his Bristol lecture ... April 23) he is at it again. ... here the creative battle to ... our ... continuity of ... human creative life ... be seen as a battle that *shall* ... lost." He now links me, not ... students, but with ... with people who are said ... that a computer can write ... those who really ... ally of these destroyers, am the classic case of the treasonable clerk. For I deliberately endorse the idea that the university is an industrial plant to be kept running to capacity all the year round. Naively self-righteous in my democratic zeal, I back my convictions with threats. Did I not once describe the universities as citadels of privilege?

Cast in the role of Goliath, I decline to drop dead: all the more so because when I see that beneath these fanciful reflections there is an old question still well worth answering. What should be our Idea of a University? Since it is difficult to answer that question in under a book, I shall have to answer another one: what is Dr. Leavis's conception of a university and what is mine?

Dr. Leavis's conception is well known. We all have heard his contention that the English School should form the nucleus of the university and, indeed, set the tone of the place. In his Bristol lecture he reminds us very rightly that a university can't be conceived in terms of "education". He dislikes even more the shorthand Robbins terminology of calling universities places engaged in "teaching and research". A real university, he says, is a "creative centre of civilization". It is a place at which proposed changes, particularly in education, should be subjected to "a sustained and organically collaborative effort of life-charged and life-serving human intelligence". According to him the wretched reviewer in the *TLS* obsessed by the power of computers is so blinded by scientism that he is unable to conceive what the ends of a university might be. Dr. Leavis maintains that he is "carried forward on the swell of cliché pseudo-thought that for journalist-intellectuals *is* thought and doesn't notice the emptiness of meaning or the actual significance".

So tantalized, we wait for Dr. Leavis to tell us what these ends are in language free of cliché. Here it is: The more rapidly science advances, the more urgent the need

> to inaugurate another, a different, sustained effort of collaborative human creativity which is concerned with perpetuating, strengthening and asserting, in response to change, a full human creativity—the continuous collaborative creativity that ensures significance, ends and values, and manifests itself as consciousness and profoundly human purpose.

Well, whether or not the mind that wrote that is free from cliché, it is certainly choked with jargon; and one does not have to have been trained in the techniques of analysing the texture of language to suspect that such inflated language is a sign of hollowness and unction.

My own conception is more modest. I certainly claim no originality for it, since I believe universities to have been sustained by it for over a hundred years. What matters most at a university is the meeting of the minds of pupil and teacher, and of scholars with those of other scholars. It is there that the intellect is trained; it is there that it expresses itself in fullest freedom. Writing in 1963 before the Robbins Report about the need for universities to review many of their procedures, I made it plain that no humanitarian, or egalitarian, or managerial plan, however well-meaning, should impair the distinguishing quality of universities. That was:

> The intellect. *That* is what universities are for. Everything else is secondary. Equality of opportunity to come to the university is secondary. The need to mix classes, nationalities and races together is secondary. The agonies and gaieties of student life are secondary. So are the rules, customs, pay, and promotion of the academic staff and their debates on changing the curricula or procuring facilities for research. Even the awakening of a sense of beauty, or the life-giving shock of new experience, or the pursuit of goodness itself—all these are secondary to the cultivation, training, and exercise of the intellect.
>
> Universities should hold up for admiration the intellectual life. The most precious gift they have to offer is to live and work among books or in laboratories and to enable the young to see those rare scholars who have put on one side the world of material success, both in and outside the university, in order to study with single-minded devotion some topic because that above all seems important to them. A university is dead if the dons cannot in some way communicate to the students the struggle—and the disappointments as well as the triumphs in that struggle—to produce out of the chaos of human experience some grain of order won by the intellect. That is the end to which all the arrangements of the university should be directed.

But, of course, this "end" is a mere *Spielraum*, a condition of existence, in which individual scholars can pursue their own purposes. The inhabitants of universities are not all working in concert and moving in accordance with a Grand Design. And this makes me ask: what are these values, what is Dr. Leavis's conception of life, what gospel should an English School propagate so that it can claim to be the centre of "the continuous collaborative activity that ensures significance, ends and values"?

Dr. Leavis adheres to a belief which I reject. He believes that there is one set of values and one set of ends which all men of good will who desire to live "creatively" would agree upon and define in the same terms. I don't. I believe in the morality of pluralism and compassion. Those who talk of "life" should acknowledge that there are human beings of infinite complexity and variety who

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cannot be measured by a single moral yardstick. They cannot be so measured because there are many good ends; and these ends conflict. Mercy conflicts with justice, reverence with gaiety, change with order, stability with spontaneity, liberty with equality. The philosophical grounds for believing that this is true have been set out again recently by Sir Isaiah Berlin in *Four Essays on Liberty*; and if Dr. Leavis cares to expose himself to "a sustained effort of collaborative human creativity", I am sure that there are Cambridge philosophers who would oblige in arguing from premises such as these with him. Dr. Leavis may reply that philosophy is not to the point, and that he settled this matter successfully many years ago in a well-known encounter with Dr. René Wellek in which he successfully maintained that the critic was under no obligation to set out a theory of literature in abstract philosophical terms. But that is not the point at issue. It is entirely relevant to ask from what assumptions in the history of ideas Dr. Leavis derives his criticism of life.

Nor would it be valid to object that those who believe that there is a plurality of values in society, and cite the different groups each with its own set of values, must end in subjectivism and relativism on moral issues. It is perfectly consistent to hold that some people are evil, or some actions are wrong, and yet to maintain that there is a plurality of values which should be respected. It is also consistent to argue that since good ends conflict, we should be suspicious of moralities which are notable for their rigidity in exclusion, their propensity to condemn, their inability to recognize that life cannot be expressed in conscience-salving antitheses. Dr. Leavis is entirely right to say that there are values—not literary or scientific values. But it is far more questionable whether we must then assume that there is a single set of simple values—e.g., "a vital capacity for experience, a kind of reverent openness before life and a marked moral intensity"—to which we must all adhere; and that the only significant literature is that which expresses these values.

Historians and sociologists provide as convincing testimony to the inescapable conflict of good ends as philosophers. We have to accept a plurality of ends not only in the interests of tolerance but because the multitude of groups in society set up different criteria of conduct. In the theory of roles sociologists have shown how immensely complicated moral problems are in practice for individuals, and historians continue to remind us that the condemnations of "guilty men", sincerely voiced by contemporary publicists, crumble to pieces when some years later the evidence is examined.

The myth of the 'organic community'

Where Dr. Leavis has always been wrong is in his grotesquely naive conception of society. Once upon a time, so his theory goes, England was an "organic" community. But the machine age crushed her folk culture and mass education and advertising emasculated the vigour and dignity of puritan provincial life. The corrupt coterie of conspirators who had seized the position of cultural importance in the country had turned "high culture" into coterie culture because they lacked any organic relationship with folk culture.

Now, all that need be said of this is that literary, historical and sociological inquiry during the past fifty years totally repudiates such a view of society. There never was a golden age of an "organic" community. That there have been great losses in the quality of life as living standards have risen is undeniable; that material progress is not synonymous with greater intensity and delicacy of feeling and expression is a theme which sixth-formers have been taught to discuss for the past half-century. But to maintain that cultural history is the story of a bleak undifferentiated decline is to substitute rhetoric for thought. In 1965, in my Romanes Lecture, I made a plea that before asking how ought men to live, we should first try to understand the social facts which condition people's behaviour—and in particular to understand how significantly society has changed since the war. If they did so, moralists would learn how greatly the meaning of the word culture had enlarged since Arnold's day, and that what is called "common morality" needs re-defining. To these problems Dr. Leavis has never shown any sign of responding; and for all his talk of collaborative endeavour, he has turned his back on what his fellow scholars could tell him of such matters.

The inability of Dr. Leavis's mind to understand other modes of thought was never better illustrated than in his reaction to the prosecution of the publishers of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1960. Five years previously Dr. Leavis's long awaited *D. H. Lawrence Novelist* had appeared, the fruit of years of meditation and of determination to do justice to this great and misunderstood genius. He made it clear in that book that he did not regard *L.C.L.* as one of Lawrence's most important works. The novel was

> a courageous, profoundly sincere and very deliberate piece of work. . . . Too deliberate to be a wholly satisfactory work of art. . . . It offends, surely, against . . . the spirit of his creativity and against the moral and emotional ethic that he in essence stands for. He felt that here there was something so urgent to be done that it *must* be done, whatever the cost. But there *is* a cost.

Nevertheless: "There is much that is admirable about *L.C.L.* The spirit that animates the book is that strong vital instinct of health" (*op. cit.* 70-71, 294). The trial shocked Dr. Leavis greatly. He was appalled by evidence given by witnesses for the defence and wrote in a subsequent article that he "couldn't help feeling that I had a heavy responsibility". It certainly seems to have shaken his judgment. So far from the book having a strong vital instinct for health, he found it to be a "bad novel" written by a sick man. It "violates Lawrence's own essential canons as an artist". The rendering of sexual experience in it had always been to him "strongly distasteful". How distasteful Dr. Leavis realized "now that yet again I re-read them thirty years after I read them first". Odd that so severe a critic, who rends others for ill-considered utterances and insists that we should write as if every word will be accountable to the recording angel, had not been so outraged on reading them when writing his major work in 1955. Odd that he changed his mind in six years. But every man has a right to change his mind. All we ask is that if he does so, he should admit it and explain why.

Dr. Leavis seemed to think that the trial should have been an exercise in literary criticism. He did not understand that, if there was a book on trial, it was not *L.C.L.* but John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. English criminal law is concerned only fortuitously with truth or goodness. Its main concern is the guilt or innocence of the accused, and on this distinction between morality and guilt, or even between truth and guilt, hang our political and civil liberties. Directly the political arrangements under which we live enter into discussion, there will be conflict between those attempting to answer the question: How should we live?

For in political life man is faced not with one standard of morality by which to act but by many, e.g., the morality of his country or his class; his duty to his family and other voluntary and involuntary in-groups to which he belongs; above all to his own conscience. But in politics one's own conscience cannot be the sole guide. Statesmen never speak for themselves alone. They represent their friends and the interests of numbers of conflicting interest groups, and their decisions—in so far as these are not forced upon them by other forces at work—are dictated time and again by specific short-term compromises and adjustments.

The necessary pluralism of universities

There have been, of course, political theorists who provided an explanation of the "true" nature of politics and drew a distinction between that and the mundane with which it was too often confused. The first explanation penetrated to the "essential" nature of man and was concerned with the permanent interests of citizens, with the creation and maintenance of a good society, and with gratifying the citizens' desires only when it had first been considered whether such desires were good. Professor Michael Oakeshott stands in this tradition of thought, yet the mention of his name reminds me of his image of the studies of a university resembling "a conversation in which each study had a distinctive voice—a conversation which occasionally degenerated into an argument (e.g., between 'science' and 'religion'), but which in the main retained its proper character". "Certainly", he continued,

> we should like to see the world of knowledge assume the appearance of unity: but for the present this is one of those things upon which we have to exercise our negative capability. And to expect a university to provide an integration in its curriculum is asking for dishonesty: an integration which sprang merely from an emotional necessity could not fail to be a false, a trivial, a worthless formula.

No player in an orchestra, whether or not a maestro or a soloist, should play without listening to the other instruments about him, and his failure to listen leads Dr. Leavis into a quagmire. "The criteria of judgments of value and importance", he writes, "are determined by a sense of human nature and human need, and can't be arrived at by science itself; they aren't and can't be a product of the scientific method, or anything like it." Of course, there is no logical or necessary connexion between judgments of value and measurable social phenomena. But does Dr. Leavis think that demography has no bearing upon our [illegible] need?

Dr. Leavis's bitter [illegible] to the Robbins Report [illegible] Mr. Raymond Williams [illegible] that he was opposed to [illegible] sion of Higher Education [illegible] Leavis pouts. Nothing [illegible] ther from the truth. He [illegible] only to the expansion [illegible] numbers in the [illegible] breaks out piteously [illegible] *am in favour of* [illegible] *Education to the utmost* [illegible] we're all very glad to [illegible] what numbers? Through [illegible] sent technical colleges? [illegible] liberal arts colleges or [illegible] of education? Would he [illegible] literature should be [illegible] and, if so, how would [illegible] differ from that for [illegible] at a university? If he [illegible] expansion of the [illegible] staffing ratios does he [illegible] the local authority sector? [illegible] prefer the system in [illegible] where there are few [illegible] many vocational institutes [illegible] students are directed [illegible] correspondence courses [illegible] time students play a [illegible] How would he justify [illegible] processes for each [illegible] does he favour the [illegible] that those who are not [illegible] take courses in science and [illegible] ogy should either be [illegible] in vocational institutes, [illegible] in each subject should be [illegible] in terms of manpower [illegible] ments? Or should they be [illegible] into newly created [illegible] schools? But surely only a [illegible] grind would advocate [illegible] *does* he mean?

Useless to pause for [illegible] Dr. Leavis has not exposed [illegible] to the elementary facts [illegible] facts—that owing to the [illegible] birthrate, the increase [illegible] of university places has [illegible] than keep up with the [illegible] number of children born [illegible] viving. The number of boys [illegible] girls who can respond, for [illegible] to the teaching he himself [illegible] Cambridge twenty years ago [illegible] much larger than it was. Or [illegible] experience as a professor [illegible] convince him that that [illegible] should never have been created [illegible]

For the past decade the [illegible] papers, the weeklies, the [illegible] learned established [illegible] newly founded periodicals, [illegible] of a dozen or more [illegible] and committees, and a [illegible] number of books have rocked [illegible] the sound of public debate [illegible] the future of education. Dr. [illegible] seems to have read none of [illegible] Every western European [illegible] our own included, is fa[illegible] same problem; how to [illegible] elegant but dwarf plant of [illegible] dary and higher education [illegible]

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Edited by H. W. Garrod [illegible]

[illegible] structure and national [illegible] of the early years of this [illegible] so that it can spread its [illegible] and give shelter and encour[illegible] to a far larger number of [illegible] dren. Dr. Leavis sees this as [illegible] no longer a few crumbs [illegible] to the natives, a display [illegible] ceived charity which could [illegible] country. It is not sentimen[illegible] gard this problem as impor[illegible] self-righteous to think that [illegible] ought to be done; and it [illegible] able to be told that a resolu[illegible] broaden the sixth-form cur[illegible] which many—I nearly said [illegible]—headmasters of inde[illegible] schools some years ago [illegible] tarily to effect, is a trea[illegible] abandonment of academic [illegible]. To ignore this matter is [illegible]. It reminds one of the old [illegible] industrialists and businessmen [illegible] clared that mass unemploy[illegible] due to inexorable laws and [illegible] perhaps, a wholesome pheno[illegible]. Perhaps there is a Gradgrind [illegible] Dr. Leavis after all.

[illegible] one sometimes wonders [illegible] Dr. Leavis, who has spent [illegible] in a university, has ever direc[illegible] gaze away from his reflec[illegible] the mirror to the institution [illegible] and asked himself why it is [illegible] academic community behaves [illegible]. Not only are dons asked [illegible] many more roles than they [illegible] generation ago and, therefore, [illegible] selves committed to a mul[illegible] of new obligations. The con[illegible] these ends, many of which are [illegible] is paralleled by the conflict—[illegible] are humanists—in their work. [illegible] have to preserve and transmit [illegible] of the past, yet they are [illegible] break this golden bowl [illegible] own innovations and dis[illegible]. This conflict of roles and [illegible] among the academic staff is [illegible] the conflict of ends in the [illegible]. Universities have always [illegible] vocational in their curricula. [illegible] of their dons and students [illegible] avoid becoming entangled [illegible] industry, the health service, the [illegible] government itself. Yet at the [illegible] some dons and students [illegible] bound to believe that above all [illegible] a duty to proclaim ideals [illegible] are strongly opposed to the [illegible] wisdom of society. They [illegible] in thinking that universities [illegible] exist to nod in grave agree[illegible] with the obiter dicta of Lords [illegible] Justice, captains of industry, [illegible] of the Crown, and other [illegible] of the Establishment.

[illegible]arity through [illegible]tortion

[illegible] the Academy should "dis[illegible]". The danger is not in dissent. It lies in the polarization of [illegible]. For it would then reflect a [illegible] view of the world, and if there [illegible] thing which universities ought [illegible] if they are to retain respect, it [illegible] denounce all simple views of the [illegible] and reiterate that life is com[illegible]. Dr. Leavis has spoken out [illegible] militant students; yet in some [illegible] he is uncomfortably like [illegible]. Both he and they demand an [illegible] crystal-clear relevance in the [illegible]: a clarity which can be [illegible] only through distortion. [illegible] and they produce a simple [illegible] of folly and wickedness [illegible] society and hence within the [illegible]. Both he and they think [illegible] bureaucratic procedures are [illegible] futile or dangerous. Neither [illegible] that what is really vital for the [illegible] of universities is the main[illegible] of the *Spielraum*, the envir[illegible] in which the conversation [illegible] the voices is more important [illegible] health of the university than [illegible] knowledge which emerges from [illegible] dialogue. That is why the end [illegible] which universities should be dir[illegible]—the "Intellect"—should be so [illegible]

"Woe to the man", cries Con[illegible] "whose heart has not [illegible] while young to hope, to love [illegible] to put its trust in life." Dr. [illegible] always seemed to me to [illegible] short on hope. He seems [illegible] himself with a belief that [illegible] too many who write [illegible] and from which I [illegible] that the vast major[illegible] children cannot benefit from an academic education, which is too abstract and uninteresting. This "academic" curriculum should therefore be replaced by some "non-academic" work — though what this work should be is far from clear.

I believe that the worst fault of British education is that it has consistently set its sights too low. The worst thing that could happen would be to make all schools adopt the limited objectives of secondary moderns. In the mid-1950s I came to believe that too few students were going to universities and to other colleges of further education, and that the shape of sixth-form and secondary education should change. To meet these changes, so it has seemed to me, universities would themselves have to order their affairs in such a way that *both* dons *and* students should be protected from the increase of numbers and have more effective conditions in which to work. That was why I suggested that some academic rituals should be scanned to see if they are as sacred as it is sometimes argued they are. For instance, I believe myself that the dates of university terms could be changed with advantage. But not so as to enable a four or six-term undergraduate intake to be instituted, since universities have more important things to do in the summer months. In each case you need examination and debate. The State has the right to ask universities to reduce as far as possible the costs of this expansion. Universities have the right—as their Vice-Chancellors are now doing on behalf of their colleagues—to say that, while marginally costs might be cut, expansion cannot be done on the cheap.

All that I ask, as Dr. Leavis advances to pinion me before execution, is that he should read something other than newspaper cuttings before he forms judgments about my views on universities. He does not appear to have read an article which I wrote in *Encounter*, April, 1963, or an address printed in the *P.M.L.A.*, June 1967, or an address printed in the Newsletter of the *A.C.L.S.*, January, 1969. Why on earth should he have? He has better things to do. But in universities it is accepted that scholars ought to make an effort to discover what someone has written on a subject before denouncing him as a traitor and a toady.

If he had done so, he should have noted my scepticism of manpower studies as a criterion for planning universities, or my warning that we do a disservice to scholarship by inflating its worldly importance, or my reminders that universities are not political arenas nor meant to reflect modern society and cater to its every need. He would then, alas, no longer have been able to picture me bowing down before the golden calf of American higher education. I thought it right to hint to my American hosts that their problems of teaching tens of thousands in one university are not made easier when professors were often absentee and when prima donnas were relentlessly on the move between universities, when the power of the university in regard to the academic staff is weak, and the loyalty of a professor is neither to it, nor to his students, but overmuch to his field of study and to his fellow professionals who "place" him and, through that ranking, determine what salary he can bargain for.

Citadels of contemplation

If universities exist to promote the life of the mind, then, so I have argued, as a nation we ought to spend considerably more of the gross national product upon them than would at first sight seem justifiable. Christendom between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries made a capital investment in cathedrals and churches, and incurred in recurrent expenditure on monks, friars, and priests far more than it could afford and at a cost/benefit ratio that I defy Professor Moser to calculate. Yet what remains is the glory of that age. "Scholarship", I went on to say,

isn't wisdom and universities cannot save souls. But scholarship is a way of acquiring wisdom, and universities are one of the last refuges for the contemplative life. Oh, yes, the contemplative life. For centuries there have been institutions which provide a refuge for those who practise contemplation and try to understand the unseen, and it is from these institutions that comes the criticism of the trend-setters, the demagogues, and those who veer to every political wind. It would be alarming only if this value were ever questioned.

Our university system still seems to me to be the best balanced in the world. The average staff/student ratio is 1 : 8, but even if an average figure is misleading, the ratio rarely rises in a particular field above 1 : 15. We dons, moreover, enjoy a special privilege.

We can speak out on any topic and criticize anyone publicly because we acknowledge that our duty to truth or goodness as each sees it is higher than our loyalty to people or institutions. That includes our colleagues and our own university which employs us; and one of the reasons why universities are often criticized by those who don't understand how they work, and why a particular Vice-Chancellor appears to be feeble and his university in disarray at a moment of crisis is precisely because dons speak their minds at the drop of a hat. No civil servant, doctor, lawyer, or schoolteacher, certainly no businessman, has that privilege. If a Vice-Chancellor gets too perky or a professor too overbearing, someone will say so: and a very good thing, too.

'Excellence plus' expansion

Dr. Leavis's contention that I believe that universities should be treated as industrial plant seems to rest solely on deductions which he has drawn from a letter I wrote to *The Times* two and a half years ago, when I wondered if universities could do anything to help at a time when the country's economic state forced the raising of the school-leaving age to be postponed. My plea may have been ill-judged, but it was not a betrayal of what our universities have stood for. Some of the finest university minds at the end of the last century and in this, such as Tawney—in times like those of Dr. Leavis's younger days when dons were paid very little—wanted to help those who had had less luck. So they taught in the University Extension movement or for the W.E.A. W.E.A. classes taught me how much I had to learn about teaching. No one was compelled to do such work, and those who did it would have been wrong to let it impair their own commitment to learning or to their own students. I know a scientific professor today who teaches maths to the sixth form of his local school first period before setting off to work in his own laboratory. Ever since the war, residential courses of one kind or another have been given in universities. That was all I had in mind when I wrote as I did. I am sorry Dr. Leavis despises such extra-mural work.

So I am not ashamed of trying to invent ways of both preserving standards of excellence and ensuring that more are able to achieve them. I really cannot answer all the good doctor's quaint notions about my nefarious political ambitions (non-existent) or my managerial lust (well under control) which he seems to think are given free rein in the interstices of time between peddling the pill and pushing pot. But I will allude to two influences in my life which pull in different directions. At King's, that Cambridge college which Dr. Leavis so hates, I learnt from two mentors—though neither, of course, "taught" me. One was Keynes. From him I learnt not to be afraid of trying to translate ideals into actuality. Of course, one fails: the vision becomes distorted: the scheme seems to dissolve. The art lies in holding the essentials of the scheme in one's mind and, like an architect, giving here an inch,

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where he has to to the planning authority, and there an inch to his client, and there an inch to the alarm of neighbours, but sustaining the essence of the scheme against all these legitimate pressures—and he can do so if he has really thought it through and not repeated fashionable ideas. So one goes on; pushing a little here, edging a little nearer there; and as soon as one has made an impression, turning round to restrain the crude, ardent progressives who would break the balance and treat institutions as if they were planning a building on a *tabula rasa*.

The other mentor was E. M. Forster. Forster taught me to be sceptical of schemes for human improvement. He taught me that élites matter: but not the élite of a class, or a nation, or a religion—the élite which mattered was that of "the sensitive, the considerate, and the plucky. Its members are to be found in all nations and classes . . . and there is a secret understanding between them when they meet". And he told me the capacity of administrators to improve matters is limited, and that the creative are more likely to be discovered in a dusty attic which has escaped the new broom than in a modern mausoleum. But he said nothing to me about the necessity to formulate plans for ensuring that "full human creativity" should not perish from the earth. And the time has come to ask what Dr. Leavis meant by that pregnant passage.

Perhaps all that he meant was that dons should work harder to obtain "continuous collaborative creativity that ensures significance, ends and values". I would have thought that this kind of creativity was more evident today than it was fifteen years ago and that a good deal of it was at play in those very studies which Dr. Leavis thinks should nurture it. But then Dr. Leavis's life work makes one doubt strongly if that is all that he means. Like some of the Victorians who lost their faith in orthodox Christianity, he seems to be searching for a substitute religion through literary criticism to prove to his readers that certain things are of supreme significance and value, and that anything else is trivial and worthless. He indeed believes that the role of the university is to save souls. He claims for criticism the place that was claimed for theology long ago—the undisputed queen of learning to which other modes of learning should owe allegiance.

Yet profound as my difference is with such a view of the university, I would have preferred to have registered my dissent in a different manner. I respect Dr. Leavis. I respect the strenuous seriousness, the hard work and mental energy in forming judgments, and his belief in literature as being something of supreme importance in moulding the consciousness of an age. I respect him as a dedicated man, disdainful of the lures of the world, a literary critic who, whether or not one agrees with his judgments, displays in his criticism a consistency of view that is complex and armed against lightweight attack. I respect him as a man whom no one of my generation who was concerned with literature could possibly ignore, so great was his impact and the challenge he posed especially to the tradition of sensibility and of morality in which I had grown up and which had become a little flabby. When I concluded my introduction to the "World's Classics" selection of Arnold's prose, to which Dr. Leavis alluded, I said that the best hope of a critic's immortality, when the issues he has raised have long changed their shape, is his character—and the *authority* embedded in that character.

When Arnold urges the spread of sweetness and light, the words he uses are suffused with these qualities. What is still today irresistible is Arnold's gaiety, his wry astonishment at stupidity, his delighted amusement at folly, his instant recognition of distinction, and the urbane self-deprecating, inflexion that does not for an instant conceal the hopeful and intense seriousness with which he approached life.

I wish I could say the same of Dr. Leavis. For I suspect that the "life-charged and life-serving" intelligences from whom Dr. Leavis wants to obtain "continuous collaborative creativity which ensures significance, ends and [...] means the kind of colla[...] associated with the later d[...] *Scrutiny* and since. That [...] conditional surrender—sur[...] his own definitions and jud[...] No one can doubt the s[...] Dr. Leavis's conviction [...] one of the few guardians of "creativity" and "health". [...] one accept such a claim f[...] man who declares that he is [...] conviction yet habitually u[...] language of intimidation to [...] differ from his views; who [...] to evidence and doesn't [...] who speaks of the need for [...] health in order to fortify a [...] religious position but seem[...] eaten up by rancour and ha[...] life? It is not Dr. Leavis's [...] life so much as the miasma [...] which it appears that mena[...] spirit of the university. If the[...] a menace to the universities [...] come not from me, but from [...] who in the name of creativity [...] impose such a strait-jacket up[...] play of free minds that cre[...] would indeed be strangled.

Education from alpha to omega

JOHN LOWE:
Adult Education in England and Wales
356pp. Michael Joseph. £2 10s.

ELIZABETH LAWRENCE:
The Origins and Growth of Modern Education
393pp. Penguin. 10s.

Dr. Lowe has undertaken a thorough study of adult education in England and Wales today. He begins by describing the move from adult education, as a formal concept which has been dominant for fifty years or so, towards the education of adults viewed as part of a continuous process of education, which occurs in a society which is saturated with education as never before.

Dr. Lowe's book is a Royal Commission in itself, in its exhaustive and extremely technical description of the way in which adult education functions today. It moves from the administrative structure of the Department of Education and Science and the local authorities to a survey of evening institutes and adult centres, with more than a million and a half adults engaged in them, village colleges, the working men's college—all these formal structures for part-time adult education. Then there are the residential colleges, including the long-term colleges like Ruskin and Fircroft, and the short-term centres where you can go for a week-end or for a week.

Then Dr. Lowe considers what are called the "responsible bodies", which are separate from the local authorities and the Department of Education and Science, such as university extra-mural boards and the W.E.A. which run courses sometimes to degree standard. The public service, including the armed forces, women's organizations, and industry and commerce all provide adult education of different kinds, as do societies and clubs. Dr. Lowe then goes through education provided by the B.B.C. and I.T.A., libraries, museums and art galleries. All this material culminates in a series of studies of the characteristics of adult students and a forward-looking series of chapters on the desire for participation of students in the planning of their courses, and the development of an administrative and educational structure for modern adult education. Rarely can a better-informed and more important book have been written by one man on a single sector of the education service.

The characteristics of the students are what one would expect, and they are confirmed by the applications to enrol in the Open University. The manual workers are represented in very low proportions and, on the whole, the more education a person has the more likely he is to be found pursuing adult education in one form or another. This suggests that the old remedial role of adult education is still there to be filled, but nobody seems to have the least idea how to tackle on a big scale the problem of the person who has left school at fifteen and has no further intention at all of pursuing education. It is a problem quite separate from the meeting of the desire to take part in adult education whether of a vocational or a non-vocational kind in the person who has already been fairly well-educated.

A history which begins with the Greeks and Romans, and carries on to the present day, within the confines of one volume, is not seriously a history as the term would be understood today. For one thing, the author could rely only in small sections upon a personal inspection of original sources. A history of this type is in fact an essay, and to be an essay it has to have a theme. The theme in *The Origins and Growth of Modern Education* is that there is a belief in the inner power of growth, that it is in the nature of man to turn towards the light, and that this motivates education. Mrs. Lawrence has tried to illustrate her view by taking authors as different from each other as Plato, Aristotle, Pliny, Seneca, Plutarch, Abelard, Erasmus, Comenius, the Jansenists, Rousseau, Godwin, Spencer, Froebel, Huxley and Dewey, and to show that, whatever their superficial differences, they are united in this common belief. Oddly enough, from the potted ideas of this extremely heterogeneous collection of people she has managed to write a book which is interesting and, at times, exciting.

The words "oddly enough" [...] carefully chosen, since stude[...] education are familiar to the p[...] despair with potted histories o[...] type, all of which rest upon re[...] of popular editions of the wo[...] celebrated authors, in which [...] seems) the finger has gone th[...] the index, found the word "e[...] tion" and summarized the [...] therein. There is a virtually com[...] lack, whether in Britain or elsewh[...] of the detailed historical study [...] schools and children, of vocati[...] training, of educational p[...] making, and of educational i[...] which is a commonplace in o[...] historical fields. When atte[...] is drawn, for instance, to [...] question of the origins [...] modern methods of tea[...] reading, little is known of how [...] methods were evolved, how m[...] they spread, or why they sp[...]

The weakness of Mrs. Lawre[...] book is, to a considerable e[...] therefore the weakness of [...] all compendia on education [...] plays in rather a superficial fa[...] with ideas, but it does not [...] us those ideas in action, and we [...] no real way of understanding [...] somebody held one idea rather [...] another. If somebody, somew[...] could really begin a systematic [...] of educational history, this [...] situation might be remedied [...] until then this sort of thing is bo[...] to go on and so far as this so[...] thing goes, Mrs. Lawrence doe[...]

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Extra-sensory

GEORGE B. LEONARD:
Education and Ecstasy
250pp. John Murray. 35s.

To write about the future is to invite comparison with Samuel Butler or with H. G. Wells. A kind of pauky ineptitude informs Mr. Leonard's book, with its vision of the Kennedy school (no less) of the year 2001. It is in Santa Fé, New Mexico, which presumably has survived the nuclear interchange and the children go to computers and "electronic identification devices" to get "the tall bank of the basic, commonly-agreed upon cultural knowledge arranged in dialogue form"; they have "carefully-arranged unexpected leaps which are so much a part of discovery"; and the child has "overt motor responses", i.e. it touches things, and it has a "brain-wave pattern", i.e. it thinks, and there is a "communal interconnect" which means they all learn together.

It all seems to be a little like the Putney School, Vermont. The children are in a communal swimming pool, of course in the nude, with no lifeguards since the older children take responsibility for the smaller children, and the parents can pick up food (nobody says what it tastes like) here, there and everywhere. The children go to a kind of Buckminster Fuller Dome in order to commune, and burst into tears when they read a story about a war.

This elysium is apparently to be achieved by a series of Summerhill type experiments, the best of which is "a drab four storey building on West Fifteenth Street", where the children can work, eat, sleep, as they like.

Children at Fifteenth Street bring their own lunches and they can eat whenever they wish. (Some eat as soon as they arrive.) On one of the days of my visit, Alan's mother, upon picking him up at the end of school, was heard to explain: "Oh no! You haven't forgotten to eat your lunch *again*!" That a child can become so involved with his "work" that he forgets to eat is only one measure of how ecstatic education can be.

Mr. Leonard's household must be extraordinary well-organized if his children, or he himself, do not occasionally forget lunch altogether: it is less a sign of ecstasy than of bad memory, or possibly of over-feeding, or even (dare one say) episodic housekeeping.

The other helps on the way are the total environment developed by Charles (Chuck) Dederich, technological aids to education, and by the Esalen Seminar, where attempts are made to develop what can on[...] described as extra-sensory for[...] education.

All this may or may not [...] sense to someone, somewhere [...] viously there are people who [...] converts to the Esalen way of [...] of which Mr. Leonard is the [...] President, just as there are co[...] to Christian Science, th[...] Panthers and to the National [...] What concerns anyone reading [...] a book rather than as a key [...] must be the tawdry prose [...] has the flavour of ma[...] duced ice cream, and the [...] thought-out sentimentality [...] is implicit in the criti[...] existing society. The notion [...] solution to the problem of [...] example, would be the cre[...] a computerized high school [...] the children weep as they [...] Aristophanes is enough to make [...] one cry. Especially if Kennedy's c[...] nection with Vietnam, the Bay [...] Pigs and eyeball-to-eyeball [...] counters is remembered. Come [...] think of it, should not the school [...] in Dallas, Texas?

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A re-radicalized Marx

ROBERT C. TUCKER:
The Marxian Revolutionary Idea
240pp. Allen and Unwin. 35s. (Paperback, 18s.)

The reflections which prompt Professor Tucker's short, but continuously interesting, book run somewhat as follows: more than a dozen twentieth-century revolutions have come about under Marxist auspices, and one in particular has consolidated itself for more than fifty years. But this, the Russian revolution, has spawned an increasingly non-radical régime which pays lip-service to a revolutionary ideology from which its practice has drawn none of the obvious implications; it is the emergence of such a stable discrepancy between revolutionary ideal and bureaucratic political routine that Tucker calls "de-radicalization", and he regards it as a process to which every successful Marxist movement is certain to succumb in time. Long before 1917 the German Social-Democratic Party pursued reformist policies under the banner of revolution; its leaders bitterly rejected Bernstein's suggestion that the theory they preached ought to be made more consistent with the politics they practised. And Tucker confidently predicts that China will shortly follow the road of de-radicalization no matter what efforts are made to prevent it. The phenomena, and this understanding of them, are commonplace enough; but they raise a series of basic questions both about Marx's own attitude to revolution and about the extent to which Marxist revolutionary movements have fulfilled his expectations of revolutionary change.

Trying to answer these questions at all is an ambitious undertaking, and it is not surprising that Professor Tucker is less than wholly successful. The fact that this is a fairly small book is against him; it would be difficult to be more than persuasive at the length available, and he deserves some credit for producing a series of thumbnail analyses of the recurrent hostilities between more and less revolutionary Marxists that will enlighten the beginner without unduly enraging the learned. But Professor Tucker's major difficulties are of his own contriving, and they stem from his well-known account of Marx as essentially a religious thinker. As presented here, this account contains some valuable insights, and displays Marx in an attractive and humane light; none the less, it contains some deep-rooted ambiguities which Professor Tucker's general lucidity of argument does little either to hide or resolve.

He argues, importantly, that a distinctive feature of Marx's socialism was its concern with man as a producer, a creator of the world in which he lives; most other socialists were concerned with men as consumers, and thus were moved by humanitarian distress at the sight of hunger and poverty. Marx's central concern was not with hunger or poverty, but with man's alienation from his own activities of creation; and Marx's goals were not in the usual sense moral ones, for he was not concerned with the more equitable resolution of conflicting interests in a society of men whose basic nature was unchanged. Rather, he aimed at a total transformation of men and society, on a world-wide scale; it was an aim which we can only characterize in religious terms—the this-worldly redemption of mankind. It is this eschatological aspect of Marx's thought which Professor Tucker sees as the core of Marx's revolutionism; and it is precisely the utopian in Marx which Professor Tucker still values.

But the emphasis on Marx as a religious thinker causes a good deal of trouble as soon as we ask whether, or to what extent, Marxist revolutions have fulfilled Marx's own expectations. For it is only by taking seriously Marx's own belief that he was engaged in the *scientific* analysis of bourgeois society and its revolutionary overthrow that it is possible to find in his work an account of the conditions of revolution which could in principle be true or false. And, even if we are ready to see Marx himself as in some sense a religious thinker, this is surely little help in understanding Lenin or Rosa Luxemburg—revolutionaries with powerful and original minds of their own, living in an atmosphere far removed from that surrounding the Young Hegelians of the 1840s. To regard them as religious thinkers would require a fixed and sceptical gaze at their mode of belief to the total neglect of the content of their beliefs.

Perhaps worse than this is the problem which Professor Tucker himself raises: that Marx said very little about what men will actually be like once they are de-alienated. Unless we can specify fairly precisely both what the goals of revolutionary change are and how they are to be achieved, we are surely in no position to ask whether, say, the Cuban revolution is "more Marxian" than the Russian revolution has been. On all this, Professor Tucker is not much help. We learn that de-alienated man will spend his time in aesthetically satisfying creative activity, but this shares with the aspirations of the religious only the damaging property of leaving out all the important details. Marx himself vacillated between believing that the factory of the future can become a satisfying place in which to work and believing that satisfaction will only be obtained through increased leisure; and it seems, too, that neither Marx nor Engels ever stated unequivocally what would happen to the division of labour after the revolution had been achieved. Tucker clouds the issue by remarking that economics will disappear, while remaining alarmingly imprecise about what this involves.

The overall result of these difficulties is much less confus[ing than] one might expect, if only [because] Professor Tucker's acco[unt of] Marxist movements in [...] quite straightforward and o[wes little] or nothing to his analysis of [Marx's] own ideas. But this very [fact is] itself puzzling, for it leaves [us in the] dark about the supposed [relation]ship between Professor [Tucker's] Marx and Professor Tucker's [Marx]ists—did the latter utterly [misunder]stand the former, and if so, [...] is, no doubt, a criticism of [Profes]sor Tucker to complain [that we] have to supply our own an[swers to] questions such as these; [all the] same it is to his credit th[at at the] end of yet another book in [this well-]worn area of Marxian st[udies we] are so anxious to hear [more of] what he has to say.

A scientific Marx

JOHN SANDERSON:
An Interpretation of the Political Ideas of Marx and Engels
118pp. Longmans. 18s.

To present Marx as a mere maker of myths has become a popular intellectual pastime. Far from being the founder of scientific socialism, we are told, he was a man who first grafted his own personal alienation on to humanity at large and then discovered, in the bourgeoisie and proletariat, the dramatis personae of an elaborate epic in which his inner struggles became objectified. "Marxism" is therefore a form of psycho-drama rather than a theory of social development.

All this has produced some good, if not always clean, fun; and some of it has assisted our understanding of the evolution of Marx's thought. It does not, however, appeal to Mr. Sanderson, who rather unfashionably considers that the whole corpus of Marx's and Engels's writings ought to be treated seriously as a strictly intellectual achievement. He also, by implication, believes that there is a Marxism which can be expounded as a more or less consistent body of doctrine.

In this little book he modestly assumes the role of Marx's interpreter—and performs it very well indeed. As an introduction to Marxism, based on wide reading, clear understanding and percipient selection of quotations, it could ha[rdly be] bettered.

It may be that Mr. San[derson] overestimates the degree of [consis]tency that Marx displayed a[nd that] he underplays—to the point [of vir]tually disregarding—the dif[ferences] of approach between Mar[x and] Engels. Nevertheless, it wo[uld be] difficult to controvert his con[clusion] that "while Marx was [...] something of a dogmatist on [some] points, and not wholly de[...] consistent on others, what mi[ght be] called his scientific pretensio[ns ought] to be taken seriously, and not s[imply] dismissed as Marx's method of [dis]guising (albeit unconsciously) [what] is 'essentially' a moral or reli[gious] drama". It is high time th[at a] genuine scholar—which Mr. S[ander]son obviously is—made this [point] once again, and we can be gr[ateful] to him for making it so clear[ly and] so firmly.

A utopian Cassandra

HEINZ-JOACHIM HEYDORN (Editor):
Gustav Landauer: Zwang und Befreiung
274pp. Cologne: Hegner. DM 16.80.

Professor Heydorn has followed up his edition of Gustav Landauer's *Aufruf zum Sozialismus* (reviewed in the *TLS* on February 1, 1968) with a selection of essays and articles by Landauer, taken from two books: *Rechenschaft* and *Der werdende Mensch*. The articles in *Rechenschaft*, which Landauer published [illegible] testify to his insight into the nature of Wilhelmine Germany, his awareness of the chauvinist militarism which he believed was leading the world to war. The articles originally published in his periodical *Der Sozialist*, were designed to reveal the nature of that authoritarian, expanding capitalist society, and to inspire the reader with Landauer's own dreams of a new society based on brotherly love and mutual co-operation.

His hopes were utopian but his warnings were realistic. Few heeded them, and Landauer found himself increasingly rejected by those whom he wished to save from catastrophe. He was shunned for being anti-patriotic. Only in the second year of the First World War did many of his fellow-countrymen come to realize the wisdom of his words, but by then it was far too late. It is good to see that this selection includes Landauer's letter to Woodrow Wilson, written at Christmas, 1916, and earnestly emphasizing the need not only for a peace treaty, but for a real league of nations with the power to control all armaments and to ensure the proper functioning of constitutional rights in all countries. The letter ends with the moving request that the president should consider his suggestions bearing in mind that they come from a German deeply convinced that the German people could be helped to do penance for their guilt to humanity and to fulfil the promise of the great representatives of the German mind, if only the peoples of the earth would trust them and offer them the support that the coming spirit of humanity would create from a new solidarity amongst the peoples of the world.

Most of the essays in *Zwang und Befreiung* come from *Der werdende Mensch*, published at the instigation of Martin Buber in 1921, which contained some of Landauer's most profound works of literary and social criticism. Landauer's appreciation of the deep social significance underlying all great literature, an awareness which inspired his essays on Shakespeare, is expressed here, for example, in the essay on Goethe's politics.

The writers whom Landauer most admired here are Hölderlin—representing for him the greatness of the German *Geist*—Strindberg, Walt Whitman, Kropotkin, Martin Buber and Georg Kaiser. These are the men who expressed something of Landauer's own ideals, who shared his longing for a spiritual revolution, for a society inspired by brotherhood and love. Like him, they experienced the torment of disillusionment and despair as they saw their ideals betrayed, their hopes fading in the face of a cruder, more powerful reality.

This selection ends, appropriately, with Landauer's passionate call to the poets, the writers, to inspire revolution. Written on October 18, 1918, when the Reichstag was sitting with the purpose of making a decision about the ending of the war (a decision that was postponed) it called to the poet who, like the solo tenor in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, soars up in contrast to the masses in the chorus—"der herrlich Isolierte, der sich gegen die Menge behauptet".

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The Explorations of Captain James Cook in the Pacific
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The experiences of a rema[rkable] group of political reforme[rs who] were transported to Austr[alia] early in the nineteenth cent[ury].

Angus & Robertson

[R]ebel with a small cause

[JOHN W]AIN:
[A Winter] in the Hills
[Ma]cmillan. 38s.

[...] of John Wain's substan[tial] [...] new novel, the forces [...] are rejoicing in one of the [...] victories which is all they [can] hope to achieve. The local [...] empire-builder has been [...] his attempt to force the [...] companies out of business: [...] owners of the battered [...] know the State will buy [...] in a year or two. The [...] poets—Welsh, Irish, [...] Cornish—have staged [...] successful festival in [...] of minority cultures; but [...] know that the majority [...] and languages will trample [...] in the end. A few bits of [...] dignity and joy can only be [...] by struggling against the [...] of commercial rapacity [...] bureaucratic power—and [...] death itself. Why not at [...] small triumphs if you [have nothing] to lose?

[...] at this philosophy, *A [Winter in] the Hills* goes farther, per[...] and developing Mr. [Wain's] basic concerns as a writer [...] of his earlier works: and [...] with a growing maturity and [...] The young, usually pro[...] hero who has been dropping [out of an] impossible society in a [...] sub-Orwellian anger since [...] *Down* is now the forty-[...] Furnivall, philolo[gist, who] has taken a sabbatical in [the] hills to get over the death of the war-crippled brother whom he has nursed for twenty years: and also to learn Welsh. He is ordinarily sensual and sensitively tough in the manner of the 1950s hero, but he has acquired a greater warmth and practicality and a more formulated and coherent hatred of the society which rejects him. He is still tumbling into menial jobs, but not in the old manner of masochistic defiance. When he breaks down local mistrust to become conductor in the hunchback Gareth's bus and defend him against the greed and strong-arm methods of Dic Sharp, who only needs Gareth's bus to complete his local monopoly, there are substantial emotional reasons which develop into a sincere and rational attitude to Gareth's fight. Gareth represents the brother he has lost, and his community—awkward, stubborn and colourful—is one which Roger can come to respect and cherish for its individuality. He can make a true human connexion with it. The familiar, picaresque process by which, in the expected fashion, this hero changes residence from Palace Hotel to holiday flat to disused chapel, and tries Beverley and Rhiannon and Jenny in turn for sexual companionship, is now psychologically explicable, and ends up with a cause.

Mr. Wain's technique does not call much on subtlety or implication. His narrative prose is a blunt, serviceable instrument which sustains a vigorous narrative line—he has always been an excellent storyteller—but falters at moments of high emotion. A kind of wooden unreality descends when characters begin to explain exactly, sincerely, what it is they feel. Observing social situations, catching hints of character and motive in conversational habits, contriving elaborate and efficient plots—these continue to be his strengths. The temptation to crude violence and farcical humour is still not entirely resisted, but Mr. Wain's Welsh village characters (if not his Scots poets) are kept under control by a new depth of observation and compassion in his writing. The old devils remain the same. Dic Sharp is the newest in a long line of provincial slickers who are set up, in their heartless mediocrity and avarice, to stand for pure evil. Alongside him is the conventional intellectual smarty, the television pundit who loses his wife, Jenny, to Roger in a slightly too easy way.

None of this is fresh, but Mr. Wain's new strength lies in his ability to work them into a mature scheme of social criticism. The theme of *A Winter in the Hills* has its roots in that sometimes callow but always genuine concern with the quality of individual living which has been present in his writing since his earliest verse and criticism. If Mr. Wain's good and living characters are now making their stand in what seems an indefensible redoubt of minority obstinacy and individual liberty it may be that there is simply nowhere else where they could do it with honesty and truth to themselves. His novel thus offers, with a new maturity and perception, some fair suggestions about the last areas where these qualities can be defended. It seems dismally possible that the writer as moralist is from now on unlikely to do much better than that.

[N]egatives of Stalin

[MERVY]N JONES:
[...]
[...] Cape. £2 2s.

[...] novelists and playwrights use [...] or famous men as their [...], the result is often to [make] the author seem smaller, as if [he were] trying to borrow the dig[nity of] history for his fiction: in[stead of] cutting his own coat [according] to his cloth, he gets a [...] mantle off the peg—the [...] and climaxes, the justifica[tion of] his omniscience, all ready-[made]. The reader anticipates small [...] about large issues, phrases [like "...] did he know" and "a [...] doomed". There is just a [touch of] this on the third page of [...] after the great man's death, [...] Malenkov shake hands [...] "They would meet [in an]other age". But that is [an ex]ception. Mervyn Jones has [been] searching for subject[s ...] he has always been happy [writing] about non-famous people [and is] so here, writing more [...], perhaps, when he dis[cusses] his invented characters or [his]torical figures for whom he [is in]venting characteristics [...] he is sticking to the [facts] about Stalin and Trot[sky he is] properly modest here, not [trying to] enter their minds. This [is a] good historical novel, [to] be admired and enjoyed [...] about a Roman em[peror ...] about Stalin, it is [...] action.

[There is] no need to attempt to [define its] political position. [...] to say that he has [...] Deutscher's biogra[phy of] Stalin, and that he finds [...] account of the [...] historical guide. [...] the "Soviet [...] deformed workers' state [...] of state capitalism is [...] is concerned [...] with the influ[ence of the] individual on society. [...] himself reflect [...] for a Marxist; [...] not historically [...] There is not much sense here of a whole class in action, nor much account of individual workers: the Russian people are seen rather as a mob to be manipulated, almost like the stupid, if amiable, beasts in *Animal Farm*. Class-consciousness appears only in the form of snobberies and misunderstandings dividing politicians and intellectuals with differing backgrounds.

The concern is to tell the deeply interesting story of how Stalin behaved and, at the same time, to make suggestions about the psychological reasons. After the brief prologue, recording his death, we are taken back to his birth and childhood. His father, a cobbler, had been forced down from a craftsman's status to the ranks of the factory proletariat, and had died young, leaving his widow to support herself and the child. It is in these abstract terms that Stalin, later in the book, describes the situation to Lenin (whom, Mr. Jones suggests, he was inclined to treat as a father-figure).

But first the reader is shown the facts of the case, in human terms. The father is a weak drunkard, and Joseph must be strong and sober. The mother wants him to be a priest, a bishop; he will become so, in his own way. Mr. Jones shows us Joseph at the seminary—but does not discuss his religious faith if any, admitting that he has no ideas about this. He does, however, stress the churchmanly aspect of Stalin. His comrades and colleagues notice it. Of his speech at Lenin's funeral: "those cumulative rhythms, that tone of incantation—this was the voice of the Church". He had a link with the common people which cosmopolitan intellectuals did not possess. "He enjoyed occasions like Revolution Day, the ritual contact with the masses." These suggestions are made, usually, not by the novelist but by Stalin's colleagues. Zinoviev is made to say: "We're purging our souls of sin, as Joseph was taught in the seminary."

For most of the book there is no effort to lay down, authoritatively, a reductive "interpretation" of what made Joseph run, what made him tick. We have a series of negatives. There is a childhood hostility to Jews retained in adult life. (Jewishness is strongly emphasized throughout the book.) He is not interested in sex (but the author is: he makes Stalin's son a homosexual, and he attributes the murder of Kirov to Nikolayev's sexual jealousy). He despises and antagonizes high-principled intellectuals, people who condemned his early revolutionary activities for "gangsterism". He feels alienated from bourgeois comrades. "They were opposed to existing society by choice. He had the heritage of being excluded from it."

After we have been taken, most readably, through the congresses, the conflicts, and the purges, we eventually get a kind of summing-up—from Stalin's homosexual son, writing to an exiled Jew whom he loves. He claims that his father is "pure", because he is concerned only with what he thinks right, wise and necessary. But he is also corrupt, because what he thinks right is always what increases his power. "Duty is the corrupt man's name for power." Our last sight of Stalin presents him in the performance of his duty, during the anti-fascist war. He is standing on the roof of Lenin's tomb, before the eyes of the Red Army veterans, who had doubted his presence in the city. The book ends: "His name—a litany of devotion, a shout of gratitude, and a pledge of sacrifice—rose incessantly from earth to sky." So he stands there, a bishop to his people and, in Churchill's phrase, a great, grey war-lord. But the reader recalls the reflections of his wife, at the celebrations of his fiftieth birthday. He had spent too many years in the background, listening to cheers meant for others, knowing that clever men thought him second-rate. "Joseph needed his reward."

John Moore's England (192pp. Collins. 30s.), a tribute to the nature writer who died in 1967, consists of a selection from his works edited with a running commentary by his friend Eric Linklater. It brings out well the talent for bringing the English countryside to life which distinguished Moore's thirty-odd books and Mr. Linklater's remarks are apt and illuminating.

Madame Nietzsche

PHILIPPE JULLIAN:
Flight into Egypt
Translated by John Haylock
246pp. Elek. 30s.

M. Jullian's line is exotic fantasy. A Frenchman visiting Cairo meets a blind derelict and his artful accompanying baboon. The beggar proves talkative and piecemeal gives the traveller an account of his startling past. Each instalment of the story has to be paid for, and the drop-out Scheherazade appoints a different rendezvous for each hearing: this allows M. Jullian to interpolate some small-print passages which admirably evoke the seedy opulence of Cairo.

Kidnapped as a young man in 1958, the beggar is removed to a fortress-like place where Madame, Romanov left-over from Tsarist Russia, holds bizarre court. Her flight into Egypt has happened in the 1920s, and after a scandalous life in Cairo, King Fuad has presented her with a palace built about 1860 on a peninsula in the Red Sea.

Here the new Semiramis founds a flourishing, if decadent Empire: populated, amongst others, by Faroukist courtiers fleeing from revolution, by T. E. Lawrence (whose motorcycle accident, we are assured, was bogus), and by such long-extinct standard-bearers of literary depravity as Maurice Sachs—here punningly called "L'Abbé Laubois-Dormans". Madame is represented as a Nietzschean, anxious to found a race that is beyond good and evil, and at any rate so far as the "beyond good" part goes, she has some success. The beggar's role is procreative and precarious. *Kif* relaxes inhibitions. Transvestism and perversion take on fresh and surprising refinements. Sin is never spoken of but resourcefully acted out. But the Shadow People - the outcast, servile population who hew wood and draw the henbane for the debauchees—finally pull the witches' coven apart.

This is a genre that is best kept short. Firbank, the greatest modern master of giggly exoticism, wrote no book that was half the length of this one. "'It's the end', said Colonel de Guermantes" (a female by the way). "'Yes, it's the end', the sovereign repeated with an air of something close to satisfaction." This bit of dialogue comes when there are eight pages to go, and the reader's feelings are perhaps even closer to satisfaction than the sovereign's. This is a pity, because M. Jullian shows a remarkable talent for bitchy allusiveness, and he has a nice wit. "Snobbishness—the most disinterested of passions, the only one except religious faith for which the real presence is enough."

Macmillan have asked us to announce that they intend to publish in July a translation of *Albert Einstein—Hedwig und Max Born: Briefwechsel 1916-1955*, which was reviewed in the *TLS* on January 15.

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COLLINS

A manifesto and its short-lived movement

MARIANNE W. MARTIN :
Futurist Art and Theory : 1909-15
228pp. plus 219 plates. Clarendon Press : Oxford University Press £6 6s.

Between 1909 and 1914, the worlds of literature, the visual arts and even of music were shaken throughout much of Europe by a noisy, "boisterously chauvinistic", avant-garde movement calling itself Futurism and originating in Milan. Echoing the cry of the Belgian Symbolist poet Emile Verhaeren—"Futur, vous m'exaltez comme autrefois mon Dieu"—the youthful but already established Italian writer and poet F. T. Marinetti issued a Futurist Manifesto on February 20, 1909, challenging intellectuals and creative spirits in the newly unified Italy to shake off the dead weight of their country's cultural past and enter creatively into the violent adventure of the modern world.

In his poems published since 1900, Marinetti—who from the turn of the century had lived in Paris and known all the major literary figures there before launching his own modern-minded review *Poesia* in Milan—had repeatedly used images to extol the speed of automobiles, the force of electricity and the adventure of new inventions which enabled man to break out of his confinement within earthly space and time. However, Marinetti was basically one of those cerebral *hommes de lettres*—like Breton in later days—who have no real visual sensibility and can only visualize things in literary terms. He had, therefore, not thought it important to appeal to painters and sculptors in his manifesto, except through a hortatory injunction to shun and demolish "museums, libraries and academies of every kind" because

> To admire an old painting is the equivalent of pouring our sensibility into a funerary urn instead of projecting it way ahead in spurts of violent action and creativity

Nevertheless, when he encountered some young artists who were anxious to jump on his literary bandwagon he could afford to be delighted because this represented an extension of his power into other media. Thus it happened that within a year five Milanese painters—Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Bonzagni and Romani—could issue in March, 1910, under Marinetti's auspices, a complementary Manifesto of the Futurist Painters, addressed "To The Young Artists of Italy".

But a manifesto needs to enshrine positive ideas and aims if it is to provoke the desired action. And, as Dr. Martin writes, a manifesto whose most positive aspects were contained in such generalized exhortations as to "draw inspiration from the tangible miracles of contemporary life" or to "sweep the ideal camp of art free of all previously exploited motifs and subjects" left all young artists "in the dark as to the kind of art the Futurist painters really had in mind".

The imprecision of the painters' manifesto thus caused it to be testily received by those to whom it was supposedly addressed: with the result that, five weeks later, in April, 1910, the artists had already been obliged to think more concretely about the practical means by which they could give effect to their vague aspirations and were able to make "news again, this time with a *Manifesto Tecnico* of Futurist Painting". And that is the point at which all the conflicts and complications set in between the theories, ideals and practice of the Futurist artists. For the fact is, as Dr. Martin shows, that they were not at that moment sure in their own minds about what they really wanted to do, nor sophisticated enough technically to carry through the revolutionary artistic programme which they had outlined. In those five weeks of hectic and embarrassed discussions, two of the original signatories, Bonzagni and Romani, quit the group rather than face up to the consequences and were unobtrusively replaced by two old friends, Balla and Severini, neither of whom was then temperamentally attuned to the adventurous outlook of the others. What is more, they were geographically removed from the centre of action, since Balla lived in Rome and Severini in Paris.

We have waited a long while for some critic and historian other than an Italian to produce a thoroughly researched and analysed critical exegesis of the stylistic growth and transmutations of Futurist painting. Dr. Joshua Taylor's *Futurism* (New York, 1961) was an excellent introductory study, serious and well informed but not profound; while Raffaele Carrieri's *Il Futurismo* (Milan, 1961), for all that it was well documented and historically elaborated, had a strong nationalistic flavour and lacked that wider critical sense which was needed to see Futuristic painting and sculpture in a valid relationship to the aims and achievements of other artists in Europe at the time. Nor did either of these earlier writers face the real problem of why and how Futurist painting petered out before 1916, with its two major proponents, Boccioni and Carrà, transferring their allegiance to Cézanne, in the case of the former, while the latter first allied himself with de Chirico and then looked to Giotto for guidance. These are not objections which can be raised against Dr. Martin's recent volume, a re-worked and much expanded doctoral thesis, which incorporates—in addition to a digest of the unpublished material contained in *Archivi del Futurismo* (edited by G. Drudi and T. Fiori, Rome 1958-62)—the "valuable recollections" and personal explanations "of several Futurists and their families and friends".

Dr. Martin is nothing if not scholarly in her pedantic, humourless approach, writes clearly, and is at pains to describe and discuss all that she has seen, read and heard—and the range is very considerable. The reviewer must therefore welcome her volume as the soundest, most concentrated, intelligent, informative and perspicacious account of Futurist painting and sculpture between 1910 and 1916 that has yet appeared. Therein lies its strength and usefulness, and furthermore one may be grateful to Dr. Martin for confining her attention to "il primo Futurismo", the only artistically significant phase, and closing her mind and eyes to the disastrous prolongation under fascism. But in another sense Dr. Martin may justifiably be accused of taking far too narrow a view of her subject. For after its inception the Futurist movement built up into an all-embracing affair—poetry, prose, drama, music, clothing, smells, noise, mathematics, architecture and politics were involved as well as the fine arts—and Dr. Martin's book would have still more interest and value if she had thought it worth while to round out her account and relate what happened in painting and sculpture to the other activities of the movement.

The structure of Dr. Martin's book may be said to consist of four sections: first, an account of painting in Italy from *c*. 1860 to 1910, emphasizing technical methods and aesthetic conceptions, which provides the background out of which Futurist painting sprang; second, an account of the formation and writings of Marinetti up to 1909, a summary of the evolution of each of the Futurist artists also to 1909-1910, followed by an analysis of the two painting manifestos and of the Futurist paintings executed before the group's departure for Paris in October, 1911; third, an analysis of the transformation, development and expansion of Futurist painting following the artists' experience of Cubism in 1911-1912 and their travels in Europe in 1912-1913, a discussion of Boccioni's sculpture and also of the delayed contributions in painting of Balla and Soffici; and lastly a discussion of the weariness and sterile controversies which first undermined and then brought about the abandonment of Futurist conceptions of art in 1914-1915. This is a sensible arrangement because it brings out most effectively the lack of consistency in Futurist painting, the fact that its aims and levels of achievement varied every few months, and also the degree to which it was conditioned, up to the summer of 1911, by the struggles of the artists individually to wrest from an inadequate technical heritage and a provincial ambience the necessary means and stimulation to create an ultra-modern, revolutionary pictorial idiom.

The first section of this book, with its analysis of all that the Futurist artists found themselves heirs to from the Macchiaioli, the Grubicy brothers, Segantini, Previati, Medardo Rosso, Impressionism, Divisionism, Symbolism, Art Nouveau, "insidious traditionalism and parochialism" as well as "nationalist sentiment", illuminates all the rest of the author's text. That is not to say that it is the most important section, but simply that everything which follows relating to the development of Futurist art jolts the memory and sends the reader back time and again to find the grass-roots in the first thirty-five pages. Dr. Martin is at her best writing about Futurist art coming into being in 1910-1911, and again about its decline. She is a less sure guide when it comes to analysing what she believes Futurist art owed to Fauvism and Cubism. Dr. Martin has managed to convince herself that Matisse, Derain, Vlaminck and Braque were really "wild beasts" at heart and also in their "explosively coloured canvases", that the "most typically Fauve expression" is to be found in the writings of Alfred Jarry, and that the Futurist conception of

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Images of intrusion

COTTIE A. BURLAND :
The Exotic White Man
Photographs by Werner Forman.
[illegible] £5 10s.

The author and photographer of this pleasant book have produced a work of real interest by concentrating their selection upon a simple idea; visual depiction of the white man as he was seen by the various cultures on which he intruded as trader, slave-dealer, missionary or imperialist. Nothing could convey more sharply the bizarre and shocking nature of his eruption than a Japanese colour print in which an exquisite geisha straight out of Hiroshige is suddenly seized in the arms of a hairy and mannerless seaman. Equally pungent is an eighteenth-century Indian painting of a ceremonial procession in which the only incongruous note, and it is a strong one, is struck by the sight of a red-faced and red-coated English official perched high up on the swaying howdah of the central elephant. The sheer improbability of the whole British episode in Indian history is conveyed by the elevated but odd appearance of this figure.

Africa produces some of the richest expressions of this interplay between an indigenous artistic tradition and the startling intrusion of alien subject matter. Outstanding here is a delicately detailed Benin ivory salt in which a Portuguese seaman looks out from the crow's-nest of his ship, sustained by a triumvirate of grave seventeenth-century noblemen. The strong sculptural tradition of the Congo also responded vigorously to the new challenge; a response which extends from the magnificent Bakongo drum resting on the thick head of a slave captain, whose monumental posture match
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Portrait of Pentonville

CLAYTON :
Prison
Hamish Hamilton. 35s

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n of 1,450 recidivists,
"ranging from social derelicts to some of the most aggressive anti-social villains of London's underworld", the reformer's high-mindedness can seem remote indeed from the hideous facts of daily reality.

Yet the picture is not all gloom and frustration. We see what the effect of a wise governor's perception can be, with his sensible application of group discussion techniques to the running of the prison. And the "Young Lifer", whom Mr. Clayton describes with such sympathy, emerges from the cage of his violence through discovering his ability to paint (a picture of his provides the book with a striking jacket). The intelligent attitudes of the officer in charge of the library create at least the possibility of some purpose in what is largely a purposeless existence. Mr. Clayton has sensible things to say about the effect of severe security measures and about the necessity for a positive policy on work in prisons—the most necessary therapy of all. But there remains the impossible problem of numbers, of an institution that is hampered at every turn by the need to make provision for the vast army of recidivists for whom prison seems to do nothing at all but to make their return inevitable. As with so many books of this sort, one is left with the conclusion that some way must urgently be found to provide reasonable alternatives to imprisonment for many men who at present profit in no way from their punishment. Society may derive some crude satisfaction from their being incarcerated, but society itself is threatened by their continuing to make of prisons nothing but places of captivity.

Consenting Christians

NORMAN PITTENGER :
Time for Consent
124pp. S.C.M. Press. 10s.

In 1967 Dr. Pittenger published a booklet called *Time for Consent?* which stated the case for a benign acceptance of the homosexual condition, and indeed of homosexual acts if they were the expression of authentic love and the desire for a permanent union. He wrote as a Christian and as a theologian, and what he had to say did little to disturb the placid waters of the moralists' discussion of the problem. He has now expanded his original essay (eliminating the question-mark in his title in the process) to include lesbianism in the range of his study and of the conclusions he draws.

His book can be welcomed as a refreshingly open treatment of a subject which, despite recent liberal legislation and the growing permissiveness of attitudes to sexual behaviour of every sort, remains in the twilight of ethical concern. There is need for a realistic understanding of the etiology of homosexual behaviour as well as of the social consequences it must necessarily create. There is even greater need to examine the traditional categories of moral judgment and to ask how far homosexuality as such and homosexual acts in particular, can be reconciled with the Judeo-Christian condemnation of them as inherently sinful in character. Dr. Pittenger's attempt to build up a new understanding of the dilemma, and his courageous proposals to resolve it, must inevitably meet with severe resistance.

But he overstates his case—and, granted his purpose, that is to be expected—in supposing that an exact equation can be made between heterosexual and homosexual behaviour in terms of moral judgment. To call homosexual acts "unnatural" is no doubt often a reflection of atavistic attitudes. But there is an ontological difference which cannot be evaded by references to the undoubtedly generous and responsible behaviour of individual homosexuals. Heterosexual love contains, at least potentially, the gift of life; homosexual love is, at that level, fruitless. This must be the basic reason for the uncertainty and pain of so many homosexual unions. However loving and permanent they may subjectively be, as such they cannot affirm the creative dimension of a truly human love.

Dr. Pittenger argues not only for tolerance but for a positive recognition of the worth in moral terms of homosexual love. He appears to be over-influenced by the testimony of serious and articulate homosexuals, who, in the nature of the case, have responded to the sophistication of his argument. But there are the others, and it may be that a general ethic can be deceptive if it is based on such partial evidence. His book veers uncertainly between a descriptive account of the homosexual world (he lists clubs and periodicals, surveys the "gay scene") and a careful analysis of the Christian concepts of love and sin, in the light of which he finds it possible to reconcile the homosexual's condition with the demands of the Gospel. But no one could deny the worth of his investigation or the integrity of his purpose.

Psycho-penology

FRANCES SMART :
Neurosis and Crime
Edited by B. Curtis Brown.
178pp. Duckworth. £2 5s.

Dr. Frances Smart was for ten years a visiting psychotherapist at Wormwood Scrubs prison, and in *Neurosis and Crime* she had intended to describe her methods of treatment and to give some account of the psychopathological factors they had revealed. But she died before the book was finished, and it now appears with additional material from articles and notes. It also includes an interesting account of her career by Miss Curtis Brown, who has edited the material, and it is easy to see how valuable Dr. Smart's work must have been in the unpromising environment of a large men's prison.

Some general chapters on the etiology of crime, in which the social, biological, and psychological factors in crime are sensibly discussed, are followed by details of treatment. Dr. Smart had studied under Jung in Zürich and her approach has the characteristic marks of his school, with a notable emphasis on the role of the collective unconscious and on the importance of the analysis of dreams. But there is little of the *odium psychologicum* that so often emerges in the writings of psychologists who are firmly committed to a particular interpretation of human behaviour. Dr. Smart was evidently a practical and humane person, and her accounts of individual patients reveal a warm sympathy which, as some of them explain, they wholly reciprocated.

As yet psychotherapy can only touch a small minority of prisoners, and Dr. Smart's patients were those who would be most likely to profit from individual treatment. She makes no large claims, but it is quite evident that her success stresses the importance of this element in penal research. Dr. Smart obviously had qualities of heart and mind that went beyond her undoubted professional competence, and *Neurosis and Crime*, apart from its usefulness as a record of her work, is a fitting tribute to a woman who seems to have been both wise and loving.

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A poet at Twickenham

MAYNARD MACK:
The Garden and the City
Retirement and Politics in the Later Poetry of Pope 1731-1743.
341pp. Toronto University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £4 4s.

Writing about Pope's celebrated grotto at Twickenham, Johnson rightly observed that an Englishman "has more frequent need to solicit than exclude the sun"; and indeed the spectacle of the invalid Pope sitting in this damp retreat, with the light from an alabaster lamp falling upon dripping moss and moist shells and glittering from "pieces of looking-glass in angular forms", is at once fascinating and repellent. Johnson is right again in associating the grotto and some other features of Pope's five-acre garden with the tendency of the studious man to seek relaxation in frivolous and childish amusements. He might have added that this tendency appears to be singularly well developed among the English.

Yet to dwell too insistently on the superficial oddities of what Pope in a letter to Bishop Atterbury called his "little kingdom" is to miss its deeper significance. In this fine and sympathetic study Professor Mack makes no such mistake. He invites us, indeed, with an insight and discrimination that are both admirable, to see the diversified little estate at Twickenham as a conscious expression of Pope's personality—a personality which is at once "the historical Alexander Pope and the fictive hero of a highly traditional confrontation between virtuous simplicity and sophisticated corruption". Behind Pope's villa and the garden he created lies a century of garden and country house literature, to which such poets as Jonson, Carew, Herrick and Marvell had contributed, and behind them again stands Horace with his poetry of happy retirement. This background is carefully explored by Professor Mack, who is able to draw on the studies of Professor Maren-Sofie Røstvig, Professor G. R. Hibbard and others, but adds much of his own.

Pope's country retreat was partly self-imposed, partly forced upon him by considerations of health, habit, expense, sufficient privacy for writing, and the ten-mile limit for Catholics which was still on the statute books. The grotto, too, made a virtue of necessity; for, since the greater part of Pope's garden lay on the other side of a public road, he was driven to excavate a passage under the road to reach it; and so (to quote Johnson again) "he extracted an ornament from an inconvenience, and vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage". But, as Professor Mack suggests, what was Pope's whole way of life at Twickenham, famous for its gardens and its distinguished visitors, famous above all for its formidable little owner, the foremost critic of corruption in high places, "to virtue only and her friends a friend"—what was all this "if not an exercise in extracting ornament from inconvenience"?

From his grotto, then, Pope looked out upon his garden on the one side and upon the River Thames on the other, and beyond those upon the contemporary world of politics and high finance, of stock-jobbing and political jobbery, of bribery and corruption, and the seemingly endless and unshiftable ascendancy of Sir Robert Walpole. It was at Twickenham that he entertained his friends; and those friends, as Professor Mack reminds us, "belonged more to the Outs than to the Ins". In his early years they had been retired statesmen like Sir William Trumbull or superannuated men of letters like Walsh and Wycherley; later on, they were statesmen out of office like Harley and Bolingbroke, or friends and fellow-writers "driven into geographical or at least spiritual exile" like Atterbury, Swift and Gay; and later still, they were the young members of the Patriot Opposition, like Murray and Lyttelton. Pope's love of retirement and of cultivating his garden was genuine; but so too were his involvement in the world beyond his garden and his increasing commitment to the political opposition. Those two apparently antipathetic interests are responsible for the title and structure of *The Garden and the City*, but he insists that they come together in Pope's poetry, "where they create a systole and diastole".

To many readers the most interesting parts of Professor Mack's book will be those in which he makes a detailed investigation of the extent to which, after 1730, Pope became actively involved in satirizing Walpole's regime, and more especially Walpole himself. He brings to this task a careful reading of the political sub-literature of the period, and makes good use of the chief opposition journal, *The Craftsman*. For a reader as sensitive and well informed as Professor Mack, Walpole keeps starting up in the most unexpected places. Sometimes, indeed, when "the rustling brake alarms, and quiv'ring shade", we may suspect that there really isn't anyone there at all; but Professor Mack is dealing here with imponderables, and with a poet whose subtleties it is never safe to underestimate, and who had to be careful that his allusions and insinuations were sufficiently indirect to keep him out of danger. Admittedly, then, Pope had to play safe; yet if his allusions were so tenuous and non-committal that many of them are only now revealed to the modern reader, one wonders how effective they were in his own day. The attacks on Walpole in *The Craftsman* may have been sufficiently indirect to leave the authors immune to legal proceedings, but they were certainly a good deal more obvious and unmistakable than some of the insinuations that Professor Mack invites us to ponder in Pope's poetry.

A fair example of his careful and well-documented mode of argument is to be found in his comment on a passage in the *Dunciad* (I, 31-32) in which Pope alludes to Bethlehem Hospital—

> Where o'er the gates, by his fam'd father's hand
> Great Cibber's brazen, brainless brothers stand.

The allusion is to the two statues of lunatics—Raving Madness and Melancholy Madness—which had been executed by Cibber's sculptor father for the entrance to the Hospital. Professor Mack calls attention to the words "brazen" and "brainless", and invites us to consider whether they did not suggest to the contemporary reader

> a possible other identity for the brothers: one brother [Sir Robert Walpole] for whom *brazen* and *brass* had become the standard nicknames, and one brother [Horatio] who in all opposition quarters was unfailingly known as *brainless*.

Professor Mack may well be right; but however aptly the context of Bedlam may suit brainlessness and Horatio Walpole, no one ever suggested that his brother was a fool. It is more easy to agree with Professor Mack that in a later passage on the *Gazetteers* the phrase "Monumental Brass" alludes to Walpole. The words, as he notes, come from Dryden's line on Titus Oates, "Erect thy self, thou monumental brass"; but his further suggestion that Pope may have wished to imply a kinship between Oates and Walpole, "who was believed to have manufactured a plot in 1720-23 to trap Atterbury", is surely too remote. This, then, is the pattern of Professor Mack's arresting study: new insights into Pope's underlying meaning "whose truth convinced at sight we find", although we have never tumbled to them before, alternating with insights which fail to carry complete conviction [illegible] appear unfounded.

On the vexed question of [illegible] Villa in the *Epistle to* [illegible] Professor Mack accepts [illegible] ments recently put forward [illegible] fessor Kathleen Mahaffey [illegible] had in mind Walpole's [illegible] seat, Houghton Hall, and [illegible] some further reasons of his [illegible] this identification. He [illegible] course, that some of the [illegible] in Pope's account do not [illegible] Houghton, but he ingenious[illegible] such discrepancies to acc[illegible] suggesting that they "pro[illegible] necessary escape-clause in [illegible] of prosecution or other [illegible] ment". It may be so; [illegible] readers may still prefer [illegible] Timon as a composite portrait [illegible] tasteless peer. A serious ob[illegible] identifying Timon with W[illegible] that he is referred to as "[illegible] and "his Lordship", and [illegible] was not made a peer until [illegible] years after the poem was pu[illegible]

It is, however, much [illegible] agree than to disagree with [illegible] sor Mack. His book is [illegible] organized and closely argued [illegible] ing its evidence together from [illegible] different quarters and put[illegible] pieces together with unfail[illegible] What is especially effective [illegible] book of this kind is the [illegible] absence of dogmatism or [illegible] insistence; his suggestions are [illegible] to glide imperceptibly into the [illegible] of his reader, and the [illegible] ency to resist discoveries [illegible] hasn't made oneself rarely [illegible] chance to come into play. [illegible] upshot, Pope's involvement [illegible] temporary politics and [illegible] took in the opposition to [illegible] are more fully demonstrated [illegible] established than ever before. [illegible] all this were not enough, Pro[illegible] Mack has provided his book [illegible] some fifty reproductions of co[illegible] porary drawings, paintings and [illegible] ical prints which enrich and [illegible] illuminate the text. This fin[illegible] discriminating study is an o[illegible] ing contribution to the unde[illegible] ing of Pope and the apprecia[illegible] his poetry.

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Diminishing perspectives

GRAHAM MARTIN (Editor):
Eliot in Perspective: A Symposium
306pp. Macmillan. £3 10s.

Graham Martin's symposium is of the academic sort. There is little love in it; and for drink and celebration, "lukewarm water Is your perfection", as Timon put it. So far as there is a common perspective it is a diminishing one: "One day he gives us Diamonds, another stones."

Perhaps this emphasis is the editor's, and not what most of his contributors meant. Among the fifteen there is a full variety, of topics, discernment, depth. But a note of carping disenchantment does recur, especially about Eliot's post-conversion writings; and Mr. Martin draws attention to it as if that were what he at least had meant. In his introduction he weaves a wreath of all the doubts felt and faults found—"peculiarly empty or hollow", "fear", "weakness", "withdrawal", "failure"—the usual dried everlastings.

Such comments, apparently, [illegible] spective the contributors were invited to work towards". Most of them obliged, though much of their work on the way does open up other and more interesting perspectives. Thinking of how these things are done in the Soviet Writers Union, one would say that Eliot is to be discredited, but not banned, and upon the usual grounds—distortion of reality, anti-life tendencies, allegiance to alien powers.

The editorial line finds support in [illegible] roundhead treatment of *The Waste Land*, in Gabriel Pearson's [illegible] attacks on Eliot's poetic method [illegible] Mr. Martin's [illegible] imagery. But there are other contributions which answer these, and to be fair to the book as a whole one should put more emphasis upon them than the editor himself is inclined to. Katharine Worth on the theatrical values of the plays, Harold Brooks on the thematic material of *Four Quartets*, Ian Gregor in two incidental paragraphs on *The Waste Land*, are among those who show that there is more to Eliot than has met the eyes which can see only that he went wrong.

More substantially, there is Donald Davie's elegant and enlightened account of how Eliot's poetry means. He suggests the impropriety of seeking either a rendering of "objective reality" (whose ?), or of the poet's own states of feeling—which is what Pearson, Martin and Hamilton do seek. As readers of a poem we have to do with something that combines both, but is neither; a *tertium quid*, which becomes our own experience; and the meaning of it is what we make of what it is. If we must be analytic about this there is much to be [illegible] Prufrock within the poem is a consciousness in a certain relation to the world he perceives; the poem is a perceiving of all this from a point of view of its own, or of the poet's; and then no doubt the reader, perceiving that, too, will be deploying his point of view. In effect this is Coleridge on Imagination updated by Bradley.

Professor Davie prefers to explicate Eliot's poetic method in terms of *symboliste* aesthetics; but Professor Wollheim perhaps comes closer to its source, and its originality, in his investigation of the thesis on Bradley. It has become a cliché that this is the key to the poetics, [illegible] has still to be opened with it. Professor [illegible] heim's is the best attem[illegible] though his clarifications gre[illegible] the philosophy, which he [illegible] plicated and obscure, and [illegible] illumination it offers for [illegible] cism. There may be mor[illegible] tion still to be derived from [illegible] ciating the philosophy [illegible] point of view of the poet [illegible]

The retort direct to the [illegible] Eliot's conversion did [illegible] no good is given by Adrian [illegible] ham in his "Conti[illegible] Coherence in Eliot's [illegible] Thought". This is one [illegible] really important contribu[illegible] haps the most solidly [illegible] likely to be of lasting value [illegible] it—and beside Professor W[illegible] and Professor Davie's—a [illegible] the others are shown up [illegible] they were: more or less [illegible] and informative lectures [illegible] served their occasion. [illegible] deeper and more committed [illegible] ment with Eliot's works [illegible] is prerequisite for a critic [illegible] will make us free of [illegible] achieve (in Arnold's [illegible] "intellectual liberation [illegible] takes that to have been [illegible] sense, Mr. Martin's con[illegible]

The Keepsake Press, [illegible] Surrey, is a genuine priv[illegible] that's to say the printing [illegible] the publishing, is done [illegible] its two latest booklets [illegible] *Figures of Eight* (24 [illegible] pages, 6s.) is a poem in [illegible] by Edward Lowbury [illegible] spersed line-drawings [illegible] and linocuts by Bryan [illegible] second, on hand-made pa[illegible] *Horn* by John Heath[illegible] numbered pages, 7s. [illegible] translation of de Vigny [illegible] originally done for [illegible] French but is also [illegible]

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Bring out your dead

J. F. D. SHREWSBURY:
A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles
661pp. Cambridge University Press. £8.

In an overpopulated Britain, harassed by noise, motor-cars, and industrial waste products, depressed by battery farming and the destruction of the countryside, we may be tempted to look back with nostalgia to an earlier period of our history. How good it must have been to live in a Britain free of the evils of industry and technology, where every man knew his place and lived his simple life close to nature and the rhythms of birth and death! This kind of mental affliction will be rapidly cured by a few evenings spent browsing in Professor Shrewsbury's book, which can be regarded as a history of Britain between about 1348 and 1650 from an unfamiliar point of view. Where the usual history book presents people as they lived, this one presents them as they died. It should be prescribed reading for anyone who believes that there could be, as an attainable alternative to a scientific and technological civilization, some form of society in which, clothed in white samite, we can move about gracefully, uttering beautiful thoughts, breathing unpolluted air, eating simple unpolluted food, and occasionally peeling off our spotless garments to swim, joyously naked, in some unpolluted stream. Such a society, if we want it, may one day be reached by continued scientific endeavour, but will never be reached without it. The only alternative to a scientific civilization, on this forbidding planet, is a world in which dirt, pestilence, famine and cruelty are triumphant. It is the world Professor Shrewsbury describes.

Pestilence was woven into the texture of our forefathers' lives. As epidemic of plague followed epidemic men seem to have carried on their lives with a peculiar kind of phlegmatic indifference. The dead incumbents of quiet country parishes were effectively replaced by the next victim. Fresh battalions of the devout arrived to repopulate plague-stricken monasteries and convents. Kings and queens moved from London to the countryside and back again to London, in flight from death. They had reason to flee. Henry VIII narrowly escaped the plague which killed three of the pages who slept in his chamber. There were frequent prayers for deliverance, and civic authorities took what measures they could. In Leicester they appointed watchmen armed with crossbows to shoot at those "vizited people who would not be kept in their howses". In Scotland women who refused to remain in isolation were drowned, or branded on the cheek, and men were hanged. Yet, as one reads, the impression deepens that people took plague for granted, as one more of life's miseries that had to be endured. This may explain why the contemporary literature contains so little reference to plague. Defoe's *Journal of the Plague Year*, like Manzoni's account of the plague in Milan, was written long after the event. Chaucer, as Professor Shrewsbury points out, was in London during the Great Pestilence of 1348, and yet *The Canterbury Tales* contain only two brief allusions to plague.

In its purely scholarly aspect the purpose of the book is to answer two questions. What exactly did contemporary accounts mean by the word "plague", and how many people died of it? Bubonic plague has an invariable epidemiological pattern, arising from the biological relationships between the black rat, the rat flea, and man, and the effects of environmental conditions—for example, temperature and humidity—upon those relationships. Professor Shrewsbury assesses every documented outbreak of plague in Britain in the light of this invariable pattern, and in most cases is able to say whether or not the disease in question was bubonic plague; those which were not bubonic plague he can often diagnose as typhus, smallpox, cholera, or some other disease. On these criteria, the Great Pestilence of 1348-1350, otherwise known as the Black Death, was probably due to an alternation of bubonic plague and typhus. As for the numbers of deaths, Professor Shrewsbury is able to show, by critical examination of the records and reference to the biological pattern of bubonic plague, that most of the mortality figures have been exaggerated. Probably the worst outbreak of plague in a single community occurred at Eyam, in Derbyshire in 1666, because the rector misguidedly persuaded the villagers to segregate themselves in the village, and not to flee. Three-quarters of the population of 350 died. The more usual mortality, it seems from Professor Shrewsbury's figures, would have been about 10 to 20 per cent of a community during a large outbreak. This, of course, is bad enough. In today's terms, an infectious disease which killed, in the space of a few months, 10,000 people in a city of 100,000, roughly the size of Oxford, would be considered a major disaster, attracting teams of television cameramen from all corners of the kingdom.

Professor Shrewsbury's thesis would be weakened if it could be shown that epidemics of bubonic plague had ever developed into the pneumonic form. The latter spreads very rapidly by droplet infection, does not require the intervention of the rat and its fleas, and is almost always fatal in a few days. If it had ever occurred, much greater mortalities than those arrived at by Professor Shrewsbury would have been common. One of the characteristics of pneumonic plague is the coughing up of blood, or bloody sputum, and Professor Shrewsbury argues that any instance of the disease must surely have been recorded, because the discharge of blood was always "a cause of special alarm to medieval peoples". Since no such records exist, pneumonic plague could not have occurred. Nevertheless it seems strange that over a period of 300 years, during which many large outbreaks of bubonic plague occurred in crowded, insanitary towns and cities, there should not have been at least a few epidemics of the pneumonic form. Is it not possible that the authorities, overwhelmed by an outbreak of pneumonic plague, might have been more concerned with the burial of the dead than the recording of clinical minutiae?

A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles is a scholarly, detailed, and accurate book which must certainly be the standard work of reference on the subject for many years to come. The general reader will probably be put off by the high price, but if he can borrow a copy he will find a great deal of interesting material mingled with the statistics.

The tell-tale skeletons

PAUL A. JANSSENS:
Palaeopathology
Diseases and Injuries of Prehistoric Man.
170pp. John Baker. £2 15s

The importance of palaeopathology as a new branch of medical science was first recognized in the early nineteenth century. It has been defined as the study of the patterns of disease in a period which lacks written evidence: it is of importance in the history of medicine, and it can also play a useful part in the interpretation of history in general. Dr. Janssens has collected a large amount of material from many sources and produced a basic textbook for those who wish to know more about this subject.

It is almost entirely from studies of bones, fossilized or otherwise, that the facts of palaeopathology can be recovered. Fossil bones can show evidence of recognizable disease; spondylitis ankylosans is present in the skeleton of a dinosaur found at Wyoming and also in other similar animals of the same date; it seems likely that Neanderthal man suffered from osteo-arthritis of the spine. The soft parts of the body do not usually survive in a recognizable form, although in the mummy of a priest from XXI-dynasty Egypt an abscess arising from tubercular disease of the spine can be identified, and there are other similar examples.

From studies of bones some authorities have maintained that syphilis was known in the western world well before Columbus and his men are alleged to have introduced the disease to Europe on their return from America. Dr. Janssens contends that this could be explained by a confusion with yaws, a disease well known in the East, which produces bone changes similar to those produced by syphilis. He also points out that as it is accepted that tuberculosis was not known in Pre-Columbian America it would seem that "one half of the world exchanged a social pest with the other half".

Primitive man probably did not have much, if any, knowledge of anatomy: the killing of beasts was achieved either by stabbing in the soft belly or in the neck, where the jugular veins could be opened, and not by aiming at the heart. It is remarkable, however, how primitive man performed and survived operations for trepanning of the skull; many skulls have been found which show clear evidence of healing and of survival for long periods after the operation. It is not clear, however, why these operations were carried out. Nor is any real solution at present possible to explain the many representations of mutilated hands which are found in a number of caves in France and Spain. Dr. Janssens strongly denies that prehistoric man would have deliberately mutilated his hands for ritual reasons.

By studying the bones of primitive man, Dr. Janssens and others have drawn up simple life tables from the suggested age at death. For example, Vallois, writing in 1937, suggests that whereas 55 per cent of Neanderthal men died before reaching the twentieth year, in Neolithic times this figure was reduced to 37 per cent. But such arguments are based on a small number of burials and, although suggestive, are probably of no real statistical significance.

As evidence of the help that palaeopathology can be to the general historian, Dr. Janssens recalls that "neolithic people have usually been taken to have been peaceful peasants". But when studying the bones of the arms of a number of neolithic bodies found at Furfooz it was found that in several skeletons one of the bones of the forearm, the ulna, was fractured in such a way as to indicate that the injury was sustained in avoiding a blow in a fight: a "parry fracture of the ulna".

In his chapter on arthritis Dr. Janssens seems to put forward views of the cause of this condition which would not be accepted now by the medical profession as a whole: but this may be held to be carping criticism, for, although the meaning of some of the things he describes in this book must remain obscure, he has intelligently interpreted many of the problems of palaeopathology. The book is well illustrated and produced, with a full bibliography. It is a pity that there is evidence of careless proof-reading. It will be of considerable interest not only to medical historians but to prehistorians in general.

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CHATTO & WINDUS

The sophists and Socrates

W. K. C. GUTHRIE:
A History of Greek Philosophy
Volume III: The Fifth-Century Enlightenment.
544pp. Cambridge University Press. £5.

Chief among the revolutions in thought that took place in the fifth century B.C. is that whereby the foundations of morality and the nature and origins of civilization became the subjects of reasoned debate. It is not surprising that this was connected with a radical change in the conception of education or at least in the kinds of teaching that were available. Protagoras was the first of the "sophists", men who taught for a fee and who moved from one city-state to another offering lectures on a wide variety of topics that included grammar and philology, even mathematics and music, but above all rhetoric, the art of persuasion. In many ways Socrates was the complete antithesis of such men, for he rarely travelled outside Attica except on military service, he neither demanded nor accepted a fee for his teaching, and the nature of that teaching was often diametrically opposed to theirs. Yet with them, and more than they, he was responsible for making politics and morality the subjects of critical inquiry. And if the sophists were often unpopular, Socrates was eventually to die for his beliefs.

The sophists and Socrates are the subject of the third volume of Professor Guthrie's monumental *History of Greek Philosophy*. The first three chapters provide a general introduction, outline the "topics of the day" and answer the question "what is a sophist?" There are then seven chapters, each of which is devoted to a particular issue, namely: "The 'Nomos'-'Physis' Antithesis in Morals and Politics", "The Social Compact", "Equality", "The Relativity of Values and its Effects on Ethical Theory", "Rhetoric and Philosophy", "Rationalist Theories of Religion" and "Can Virtue be Taught?". Part One ends with a chapter entitled "The Men" that summarizes the main contributions of each of the principal sophists in turn. Part Two, on Socrates, is shorter, and simpler in arrangement, and consists of three chapters, "Problem and Sources", "Life and Character" and "Philosophical Significance".

Once again the qualities for which the first two volumes have justly been praised are in evidence. Chief among these qualities are the lucidity of the author's writing, the judiciousness of his opinions and the comprehensiveness of his treatment—a comprehensiveness that extends not only to his account of the ancient material, but also to his full references to the works of modern scholarship. He has analysed and evaluated the contributions of hundreds of modern interpreters, and his patience in noting divergent views—even where these are fairly bizarre or obscure, or both—is remarkable. The frequency of his references to the work of Professor Untersteiner is testimony rather to Professor Guthrie's generosity to his professional colleagues than to the value of the former's interpretations of the sophists. Like the two earlier volumes, this one gives not only a vast synoptic view of a period of Greek thought, but at the same time very full documentation on the "state of the question" on many points of scholarly controversy.

One important difference marks out the treatment of the subject-matter in this volume, and this is apparent already in the title, *The Fifth-Century Enlightenment*. In his preface, Professor Guthrie speaks of the "temptation to discursiveness" that was

> provided by the analogies, which I found inescapable, between this period of intellectual and moral ferment in Greece and later periods of European thought, including the Renaissance, the Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and not least our own troubled age.

He goes on: "to speak of analogies indeed is incorrect. They are rather instances of direct continuity, the fruit of a renewed study and understanding of the thought of the ancient world".

The work is liberally supplied with references to seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth-century comparative material. A thirteen-line extract from W. H. Greenleaf's *Order, Empiricism and Politics* appears on page 59, after which Professor Guthrie writes: "this passage, which so well describes the changing climate of thought in fifth-century Athens, was in fact written about seventeenth-century England". A. H. Campbell and Lord Devlin are quoted at length to illustrate the controversy between written and unwritten law. Extensive passages from Barker's introduction to Gierke's *Natural Law* are used in the concluding section of the chapter on *nomos* (law, convention) and *physis* (nature), and understandably enough Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Rousseau figure frequently both in that chapter and in the next, entitled "The Social Compact". *The Sunday Times*, Disraeli, and Bertrand Russell's autobiography are used to illustrate the style of arguments, and the techniques of rhetoric, which at one point Professor Guthrie compares with advertising. Elsewhere he brings together Ayer and Archelaus, Stilpo and Bishop Butler, Democritus and Sartre.

These comparisons certainly add interest and liveliness to the discussion of the fifth-century texts. Yet the reader may be rather dazzled than enlightened by many of them. He is bombarded with continuities and analogies, but he will sometimes find it difficult to distinguish between the two: it is often far from clear which similarities are due to the fact that later writers had actually read the ancient texts; which reflect constant features in the way in which certain ethical and political issues have been debated; and which are merely fortuitous. Alongside the evidence that illustrates the longevity of fundamental Greek insights, more attention should have been paid to the radical misinterpretations that Greek ideas suffered, even at the hands of those who claimed to have direct knowledge of the ancient authors and who explicitly aligned themselves on one or other side of an ancient controversy as they understood it.

Professor Guthrie is, as one should expect, extremely careful to analyse precisely how such slippery and opaque terms as *nomos, physis, dike, philia, homonoia* and *isonomia* were used by Greek writers, devoting many pages to documenting the root meaning and development of such terms and mapping out the full ranges of their fifth-century usage. But he rarely undertakes even a brief examination of the equally complex key terms that recur in the passages from seventeenth and eighteenth-century writers that he cites. Again, apart from occasional allusions to Tory and Whig, "popularist" and "absolutist", points of view, he says [illegible] their debates—and yet without knowledge of the issues and the background, the arguments used by either side are barely intelligible. As Professor Guthrie himself at one point remarks, the same set of abstract principles can be invoked to support diametrically opposite political positions. It may be churlish to criticize the use of the comparative approach in this book, when to have neglected later developments entirely would have been a much graver shortcoming. Nevertheless many of the comparisons attempted here should have been carried out in greater depth: at present they leave the reader with no more profound a thought than that of *plus ça change*.

This leads to a point about Professor Guthrie's treatment of the Greek material itself. Chapter four is entitled "The 'Nomos'-'Physis' Antithesis in Morals and Politics", and early on there appears an interesting passage from Lysias suggesting that "no man is by nature either an oligarch or a democrat, but each strives to set up the kind of constitution which would be to his own advantage". Yet in the subsequent pages the role of practical politics is little discussed. The author's standpoint is predominantly an intellectualist one. This comes out in his introduction, where he remarks that "many arguments that might be thought to be ethical or political, and so to deal with purely practical matters, depend in fact on much deeper philosophical issues". But whereas one of the strengths of his discussion is the careful analysis of the interrelations between ethical and epistemological theories, the part played by such factors as economic and social experience in influencing an individual's attitudes is rarely considered. The "nomos"-"physis" chapter unravels the complexities of intellectual positions, but the question of how these related to, or were brought to bear on, issues of practical politics is relegated to a very minor role.

Another of the strengths of Professor Guthrie's work is the use he makes of contemporary Greek literature to describe the fifth-century cultural background. The sophists cannot be isolated, as he justly remarks, from the contemporary world, from writers like Thucydides, Euripides, Aristophanes and the orators, though he adds: "at the same time any tendency to allow the volume to develop into a history of Greek literature had, for obvious reasons, to be resisted". The balance that he strikes is an excellent one. Time and again texts from Thucydides and Euripides especially are cited to great effect to illuminate contemporary problems or the climate of opinion. Indeed these writers often provide our sole first-hand evidence for particular beliefs—as for example Euripides for the expression of certain attitudes towards slavery: "one thing alone brings shame upon slaves, the name".

This absence of hard and fast distinctions between different categories of writer raises a difficulty about the extent of what Professor Guthrie describes as the "professional class" of the sophists. He speaks of the lack of interest of the sophists in natural science, Hippias being one unimportant exception. This is true of the individuals that he deals with. But problems in natural science continued to be debated not only by philosophers such as Diogenes of Apollonia and Democritus (who appeared in his second volume), but also by many of the anonymous writers of what we know as the Hippocratic treatises. And some of these writers appear to have been not full-time doctors, indeed not practitioners of medicine at all, but lecturers who talked and wrote about medicine and other subjects. The point here is not that Professor Guthrie should have widened the net still further to take in more texts (indeed he makes considerable use of several Hippocratic works, such as the treatise *On Ancient Medicine*), but rather that the changes that took place in education in the fifth century are more complex than he suggests, and that in discussing the rise of sophistry as a profession more notice should have been taken of the fact that there were many other kinds of paid professional teacher besides those who specialized in rhetoric.

A final point concerning the treatment of the sophists relates to the division between "topics" and "men". Professor Guthrie notes the risks of repetition in this arrangement. But in the event, in one case at least—that of Protagoras—more recapitulation would have been desirable. Protagoras appears in many roles in the first ten chapters [illegible] theory of civilization, as a [illegible] as a subjectivist, as a [illegible] religious agnostic, and for [illegible] that virtue can be taught. [illegible] seven pages on Protagoras [illegible] not all the loose ends [illegible] together.

In considering the evid[illegible] Plato, Professor Guthrie [illegible] that this can be used only [illegible] as what he says is both [illegible] consistent and not in confl[illegible] the rest of our scanty info[illegible] (and this I believe to be true [illegible] inconsistencies certainly re[illegible] Protagoras's views as Pr[illegible] Guthrie presents them. The [illegible] subjectivism that he ascribes [illegible] tagoras is at odds both [illegible] important doctrine that virtue [illegible] taught and with the assertion [illegible] "some appearances are better [illegible] others, though none is [illegible]". Indeed after quoting this [illegible] Professor Guthrie says: "[illegible] doubtedly, the epistemological [illegible] logical doctrine of complete [illegible] tivity breaks down".

Again he writes that "Pr[illegible] ras's innovation was to achi[illegible] reputation as a political and [illegible] thinker without supporting any [illegible] ical party, attempting [illegible] reform, or seeking power for [illegible] self". Yet Protagoras helped to [illegible] the legal code of Thurii, and [illegible] his political sympathies, Pro[illegible] Guthrie goes on to speak [illegible] "invincible respect for the [illegible] cratic virtues of justice, respect [illegible] other men's opinions and the [illegible] cesses of peaceful persuasion [illegible] basis of communal life". This [illegible] mocratic" "respect for other [illegible] opinions" provides, perhaps, [illegible] clue to a different synthesis [illegible] main strands in Protag[illegible] thought.

In Part Two, the author's [illegible] sympathy for Socrates illu[illegible] every page. Threading his [illegible] through the tangled problems [illegible] nature of the evidence, he insis[illegible] there is a hard core of teaching [illegible] can confidently be attribut[illegible] Socrates, and he proceeds to [illegible] this both to the ideas of the so[illegible] and (more cursorily) to the [illegible] doctrines of Plato. Some [illegible] will be alarmed when Pro[illegible] Guthrie speaks of his feeli[illegible] personal acquaintance with So[illegible] which

> gives a certain encouragement [illegible] even say a certain right? [illegible] particular philosophical po[illegible] question, to say: "No, I can't [illegible] that Socrates himself would have [illegible] like that", or "Yes, that is jus[illegible] should have expected Socrates [illegible]

But in fact his interpre[illegible] Socrates are, as always, [illegible] supported with evidence and [illegible] ment. He certainly takes a [illegible] line on a number of question[illegible] scholarly opinion is split do[illegible] middle: there is no doubt, [illegible] view, that Socrates did believe [illegible] immortality of the soul, for [illegible] Yet, as always, he presents [illegible] on both sides of this argument [illegible] on this, as on every other in[illegible] issue, the reader is informed [illegible] the interpretation developed [illegible] volume differs seriously fro[illegible] of the majority of scholars [illegible] historians of Greek philosoph[illegible] impressed their philosophical [illegible] ality more firmly on their [illegible] But, for those who wish the[illegible] above all to be sound, [illegible] Guthrie is incontestably their [illegible]

A recent addition to Mac[illegible] "Modern Studies in Philo[illegible]" series is *Aquinas*, edited by A[illegible] Kenny (389pp. 30s. Paperb[illegible]). In his introduction Dr. Ken[illegible] tinguishes Aquinas from [illegible] debased Thomism and asse[illegible] among the dozen greatest [illegible] sophers of the Western wo[illegible] also states that the essays [illegible] volume have been chosen so [illegible] intelligible to philosophers [illegible] the analytical tradition. Co[illegible] include David Kno[illegible] Geach, Herbert McCab[illegible] for himself.

MILTON STUDIES
Volume II

John T. Shawcross, "*Paradise Lost* and the Theme of Exodus"
Leslie Brisman, "Serpent Error: *Paradise Lost* X, 216-18."
John R. Knott, Jr., "Symbolic Landscape in *Paradise Lost*"
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Roger H. Sundell, "The Narrator as Interpreter in *Paradise Regained*"
Lawrence W. Hyman, "Christ's Nativity and the Pagan Deities"
Donald Rosenberg, "Parody of Style in Milton's Polemics"
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Irene Samuel, "Milton and the Ancients on the Writing of History"
John S. Hill, "Vocation and Spiritual Renovation in *Samson Agonistes*"
Marcia Landy, "Language and the Seal of Silence in *Samson Agonistes*"
Nancy Y. Hoffman, "Samson's Other Father: The Character of Manoa in *Samson Agonistes*"
Sherman Hawkins, "Samson's Catharsis"

Volume III of *Milton Studies* is scheduled for publication in April, 1971. Milton scholars and critics are invited to submit articles and essays dealing with Milton's work, thought, life, or historical and cultural background. Manuscripts should be between 3000 and 8000 words in length and should conform to the *MLA Style Sheet*.

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[illegible]an of all work for music

[illegible] STEWART (Lady [illegible]
[illegible] Singer
[illegible] Duckworth. £2 15s.

[illegible] *nil nisi verum* was the [illegible] creed of a man who [illegible] put it into practice [illegible]. Such a man would not [illegible] path through life strewn [illegible], but it follows that one [illegible] least could be predicated [illegible] integrity. In fact many [illegible] admirable qualities went [illegible] make-up of a man who did [illegible] music in Britain through [illegible] decades. Steuart [illegible] singer, administrator, [illegible] adjudicator, translator of [illegible], a man of all work for [illegible]

[illegible] graphy, in which these [illegible] are put on record in just [illegible] degree of particularity, has [illegible] by his widow. It is a [illegible] undertaking for one so [illegible] him to write of a man [illegible] stormy winds were apt [illegible]. One of the hazards is special [illegible]; some degree of commit[illegible] necessary to anyone who is [illegible] dealing with some [illegible] figure, such as, say, [illegible] Queen of Scots, but the slight[illegible] is contra-suggestive and [illegible] disadvantage of the subject. [illegible] Stewart has through [illegible] the detachment [illegible] balance the commitment. [illegible] in her own right an [illegible] subject is politics and [illegible] for which independent [illegible] is a prime qualification. [illegible] explains, she was Steuart [illegible] wife for only a bare five [illegible] the end of his life. As a [illegible] had known and admired [illegible] an undergraduate at Cambridge [illegible] during the forty years of [illegible] life she had no contacts [illegible]. In 1961 she was a [illegible] he was a widower, both [illegible] suddenly bereaved: they [illegible] spent a tranquil period [illegible] life together.

[illegible] then Wilson's life had [illegible] but tranquil: an iron [illegible] inheritance, war wounds and [illegible] health, divorce, libel and [illegible] quarrels in administrative [illegible] the accompaniments of [illegible] life. As for this last, the [illegible] of the narrative, how [illegible] to convey to a later [illegible] that never heard it the [illegible] voice, the inflexion of a [illegible] shape of a phrase, the [illegible] an interpretation in an [illegible] song, a Schubert lied, a Bach recitative? The gramophone has done a good deal to prevent oblivion blighting the laurels which singers won in their lifetime, as it used to do in the past. It is therefore fortunate that Decca recently reissued on a long-playing record some of the few songs recorded by Wilson thirty-five years ago, when recording technique was less advanced than it is now, though even so there is no record of his most distinctive contribution to the singer's art, the Evangelist's narrative in Bach's Passions. Fortunately again, however, even in this matter something has been retrieved: Lady Wilson prints in an appendix Sir Steuart's own account of the problems of Bach's recitative and his own well considered and well-proven solutions of them which he contributed to *Music and Letters* in 1935. Moreover she is able to supplement it with a revealing story from the pen of Jean Hamilton (Lady Redcliffe-Maud) of her and his study of these very problems with Wanda Landowska.

The biographer also quotes descriptions and critical estimates of Wilson's art, of which the outstanding feature was undoubtedly his delivery, which means not only articulation but timing, vocal inflexion and projection. The voice had been impaired by a bullet through his right lung, so that the possibility of his becoming a Heldentenor had gone. But this limitation of his field of operation also extended it by turning him to madrigals and so to the foundation of the English Singers, who revealed a virtually unknown English music not only to their fellow-countrymen but to Europe and America.

After his singing days were done Wilson held a succession of administrative posts with the Arts Council, the B.B.C., Covent Garden, and the Birmingham School of Music. For one of these he was given a knighthood; two of them ended in angry breaks. Even so, though his tactics in one of these cases were certainly wrong, he achieved valuable results by precipitating some fundamental changes. It is in dealing with these stormy controversies that Lady Wilson shows her skill, for in spite of the fact that there are few more boring topics than other people's quarrels, she makes clear the issues, is fair to the opponents, and provides documentary evidence. They are part of her husband's life story and illumine his character. She also manages to convey with a proper restraint the charm and the wit which mingled with the acerbity to keep it clear of rancour.

True and false nature writing

WILLIAM COOKE:
Edward Thomas, A Critical Biography 1878-1917
292pp. Faber and Faber. £2 10s.

One of the problems in dealing with Edward Thomas is that he seems to belong to two different traditions of nature writing. In his prose he stood near the end of a line of literary nature-writers, of whom Jefferies was probably the best, and Beverley Nichols the last—a line that corresponded to the last decline of Englishmen's vital relations to their own natural environment. It produced writing that was over-written, self-conscious, and on the whole sentimental, as the ends of relationships tend to be. The nature that it described was tamed and personified, and for that reason, no doubt, appealed to readers who were not themselves close to the essential natural world—to gardeners and Sunday walkers, rather than to countrymen.

But Thomas was in his heart a countryman, and it pained him that circumstances should have made him a nature-journalist. One finds in his prose books a growing contempt for the activity that he was engaged in. Of *The Icknield Way*, for example, he wrote: "This book . . . was to have been a country book, but I see that it has turned out to be another of those books made out of books founded on other books." By "country book" he meant another kind of relationship—the direct relation of the countryman to his environment; but it was already too late, in the early years of this century, to write that sort of book. The country itself, as Thomas sadly recognized, was shrinking, fading, declining before the mechanization of everything. "The flocks", he lamented, "no longer feed much on the hills, and, except when folded in squares of turnips or mustard, are seldom seen there. They have become more and more a kind of living machinery for turning vegetables into mutton." That mechanical nature could sustain neither countrymen nor country books, and it is hard to imagine what Thomas could have written in prose if he had survived the First World War.

Thomas's poetry is another matter, and another tradition. It is, one might say, "countryman poetry"—a tradition that includes Clare and Hardy as well as Thomas's friend Robert Frost. This sort of verse is based on an affinity with nature too deep to be sentimentalized as love: it is tough, often bleak, honest, and unliterary. The best of it is so plain as to be timeless. For Thomas, poetry like this was an escape from the falseness of "nature-writing" that came to him naturally, at the end of his career. One can see now that it was his true medium that he burst into in those last few months; but one can also see that the verse was only possible because his growing contempt for the earlier, florid prose had tempered his mind to the hard, bare ironies of his verse.

Mr. William Cooke has focused his study of Thomas on these two traditions of nature-writing, and out of the connexions and tensions between the two he has made an original and valuable contribution to Thomas criticism. He calls his book "a critical biography", by which he means a two-part study, first the biography, then the criticism. The biography is condensed, correct, and adds very little to what already exists in print. The criticism, on the other hand, adds a good deal. Mr. Cooke has drawn upon previously unpublished letters to Frost, and on unpublished prose sketches from which Thomas drew his poems; working from these and from the published materials, he develops a convincing account of the growth of the man, his mind, and his art. By setting prose examples beside verse quotations, he makes clear that from the beginning a sparse poetic imagination lay shackled in the florid prose, and that the end in verse was inevitable.

If there is one weak spot in the critical section, it is in the chapter where Mr. Cooke turns to Thomas as a "War Poet". He seems driven here to take on every critic who has commented adversely on Thomas's war poems, or has suggested that there are not very many poems that properly belong under that heading. But to the common reader those critics will seem on the whole convincing: and certainly no one turns to Thomas in quest of the true feelings of the First World War.

Mr. Cooke includes an appendix dating the poems, and another on the manuscript poems. References and bibliography are meticulously thorough, and add to the permanent value of this dedicated, thoughtful book.

Writer of Wales

T. L. WILLIAMS:
Caradoc Evans
108pp. University of Wales Press for the Welsh Arts Council. 15s.

This is the first to appear of a commissioned series of short studies called "Writers of Wales", published by the University of Wales Press for the Welsh Arts Council. The format is tall, narrow, slim, and elegant; the contents consist of a prolonged, informative, and agreeably unportentous essay and a three-page selected biography. Evans was discussed at some length by his friend and one-time neighbour Gwyn Jones in this journal little more than a year ago (January 9, 1969), and the marked peculiarity of his life and character, the unique and savagely debated nature of his writings, and the continuing notoriety attendant upon every mention of his name in Wales made him natural opener for the series.

Mr. Williams appears to know everything Evans wanted to be known about his life, plus some things he did not choose to parade; and he has sensibly given most of his descriptive and critical pages to the best and at the same time best known of the writings. The scarifying early stories, especially in *My People* (1915), the mordant novel *Nothing To Pay* (1930), a few milder stories from the last period, and a handful of pen-portraits and journal-entries are likely to prove the irreducible core of his literary work. Mr. Williams makes a cool approach to his heated subject, is always looking for the man behind the legend, and generally manages to find him. This excellent little book brings what promises to be an instructive and authoritative venture off to a good start.

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TIMES PAST THE TIMES

T·L·S

69th Year 30 APRIL 1970 No. 3,557

To the Editor

'Literarism versus Scientism'

Sir,—I suppose that to be attacked by Dr. Leavis (April 23) is the ultimate accolade but he really has got it all wrong. I do not want everyone to go to university, much less to his idea of a university. I simply know that the demand for all forms of higher education—which he allows is something quite different—is growing apace, and neither I nor Dr. Leavis nor anyone else can stop it. So I want to plan for this inevitable demand and go on encouraging people to aspire to as much education as they feel they want and need. I want an elective, not a selective system.

On the other hand I fear the creeping pollution of technology as much as he does. I think D. H. Lawrence has rather more wisdom to dispense than C. P. Snow; and if universities are to have Advanced Institutes of Materials and Mathematics and Social and Strategic Studies, they ought to have Institutes of Literary Studies as well. That is what Dr. Leavis seems to want and I would support him.

CHRISTOPHER PRICE
House of Commons, London, S.W.1.

Sir,—For the convenience of any of your readers who are interested in following Mr. Leavis's reference to my article in *Commentary*, may I repeat the relevant sentence?

> Leavis ended, in fact, by defending what seemed to me openly conservative positions, as in his opposition to the expansion of higher education; always with a point—in this case that much of the motive and content was utilitarian—but also with an acquiescence, perhaps involuntary, in the consequently preserved structures of society, against which, of course, an overall position had been presented. (*Commentary* 47, 2, February 1969, p.73.)

Mr. Leavis now says that he is in favour of "extending higher education to the utmost". I had not noticed him saying this earlier, with anything like this emphasis, but of course I am very willing and indeed glad to accept it.

It does not much alter the central issue between us. For he at once goes on to oppose university expansion, which is the question I had mainly in mind (and on which I had heard him speak) and in which the extension of learning, as opposed to training or instruction, is most likely, if anywhere, to occur. He says that it is disastrous to identify higher education with the university. I say that it is disastrous not to. I do not mean that every course of higher education should end with a particular kind of university degree or its equivalent. That emphasis, within the universities, is already distorting learning. I mean that a university cannot be, in his phrase, a centre of civilization, unless [illegible] close and flexible connexions with higher education [illegible] whole (connexions which the abstraction of "qualifications" seems to me to prevent). I mean also that its concern for standards (which again ought not to be abstracted) would be properly expressed by practical collaborative effort, rather than by some form of supervision or distant example. It is in these senses that I find it impossible to separate the expansion of higher education from expansion and change in the universities. The separation now occurring (does Mr. Leavis acquiesce in it?) is in its nature and name—the binary system—the very opposite of responsible.

I ought perhaps to add, remembering some of Mr. Leavis's lists, that I have consistently opposed the managerial criteria now being applied to universities, including the latest Government points. But then I do not think that we ought to or can be left with a choice between existing institutions and the new educational technocracy, which already some of the names and positions are sufficient indicators—have much more in common than the conventional contrast will allow.

It was indeed in these senses that I tried to analyse the consequences of Mr. Leavis's whole argument, and what I wrote in *Commentary* can, I think, be applied as it stands (but changing "higher" to "university" if that is what he wishes) to his most recent lecture.

RAYMOND WILLIAMS.
Jesus College, Cambridge.

Sir,—Let me not impoverish the public stock of harmless pleasure by moderating the asperity of the exchanges between Mr. Leavis and the supporters of Lord Snow. I ask only that the disputants be fair, and, in one matter of which I have knowledge, Mr. Leavis is not.

In the lecture that you have reprinted he said that, "week after week following the appearance" of his Richmond lecture in the *Spectator*, that paper's correspondence columns and those of the *New Statesman* were "charged and swollen" with letters denouncing him and his attack on Snow "who, *thus reassured*, took cover under magnanimity". The italics are mine.

I know very well, and Mr. Leavis must know too, that Snow's magnanimity, far from being resorted to as a "cover" only after weeks of supporting letters, was displayed before the lecture was even published.

At the time—March, 1962—I was an assistant editor of the *Spectator*. I was not a close friend of Sir Charles as he then was, though our acquaintanceship was a dozen years old, and I knew his wife, Pamela Hansford Johnson, as a fellow-member of the B.B.C. Critics. But I was the only member of the *Spectator*'s staff to know him at all, and the editor asked me to take him the script of the Leavis lecture before we decided in what form to publish it, if we published it at all.

I sat with the Snows in the drawing-room of their Cromwell Road flat, admired their Sidney Nolans, and listened to Charles reading the Leavis lecture to Pamela. Some of it nettled them—Pamela, I seem to recall, was the more indignant of the two—and some of it amused them. But there was no hesitation at the end: "Of course you must go ahead—and no cuts."

This is how I know, very well that Snow's magnanimity was displayed not after he was reassured by letters of support, but even before publication. Why I state that Mr. Leavis must know this too is that the week after we printed his lecture I quoted, also in the *Spectator* (March 16, 1962) his "go ahead: no cuts", and a reporter in the previous Sunday's *Sunday* [illegible] who presumably [illegible] questioned Sir Charles between the Thursday on which the *Spectator* had appeared and the Saturday on which his paper went to press, referred to the "magisterial aplomb" he displayed—also before any supporting letters had been printed. I cannot believe that Mr. Leavis's attention was not drawn to these two references.

Thus, I can testify, and the *Sunday Times* reporter, whose identity is unknown to me, corroborates my testimony, that Snow was magnanimous from the beginning; Leavis is less than magnanimous even now, eight years later.

CYRIL RAY.
The Athenaeum, London, S.W.1.

Sir,—In his amusing address at the University of Bristol, Dr. F. R. Leavis displayed considerable political facility. On the basis of a subtle misquotation and a very free interpretation of what he thought I meant to say rather than what I said in my front-page article printed in the *TLS* on January 1, he summoned up a number of the familiar dragons of his personal fears and then began to lay about him with his sword. It made entertaining reading and I would not object had he not so very obviously used my review as a launching pad, to mix my metaphors, and then so patently ignored what I actually said.

Like all the best crusading knights he occupies an ivory tower. In his case it is the university and the English faculty is its keep. He spies the advancing computer and, such is his desire for dragons, he sees it as an enemy rather than a relief column.

As a result of increasing computerization, I said that, in the future, "the whole pattern of society will have changed". Dr. Leavis twice introduces a note of authoritarianism by misquoting me as saying "the whole pattern of society will have to be changed". From the basis of this misquotation he draws a fearful picture of society, and of the field of education in particular, being regimented at the dictates of the computer. This reflects a familiar fear of the uninformed who feel that they can do nothing. I do not dispute the fear, indeed I endorse it. What I do dispute is the concept that nothing can be done. Instead of laying about him with a rusty sword, Dr. Leavis would do better to arm himself with knowledge. If he, rightly, feels protective about the purity of academic life, let him learn about the computer and harness it.

The computer is inevitable, it is powerful and it is a weapon for good or evil, as Dr. Leavis judges these concepts. He won't harness its capabilities by invective. Let him learn and through learning channel the computer into a truly productive path.

If only he knew it, he has nothing to fear. The computer will never oust him. He has a degree of learning, taste and perception that is unassailable in electronic terms. He represents a logical design that is light years ahead of the most advanced computer yet built. But in learning he is not representative.

The vast majority of people need to absorb a great mass of facts before they can begin to appreciate the insight of people like himself. It is here that the computer can help. It can present facts to the pupil at a pace perfectly matching his ability to absorb them. It can monitor the pupil's progress and report an exceptional or poor performance. It can test and grade. Far more important, it can free the human teacher from being a fact-teaching machine. It can release a trained mind and let the teacher be a tutor once more, developing a proper rewarding relationship between teacher and pupil.

This could bring about an educational system that would feed into the universities a far greater number of people who would benefit from Dr. Leavis's teaching than has ever been possible before.

Dr. Leavis is a bonny fighter and it is entertaining to see my head rolling down the hill in company with those of Lord Snow, Lord Annan and Mr. Christopher Price, M.P. A distinguished educator must have a sense of responsibility, however. Witty assaults are the province of the jester, not of the serious academician, and Dr. Leavis has a responsibility towards society, particularly towards the students of today. May I ask him, through the courtesy of your letter column, to come and learn something of the potential of computers before he dismisses them with a wave of his jester's bladder or his knight errant's sword.

That voice of sanity and human insight, D. H. Lawrence, said: "Let me not be imprisoned in this proven, finite existence all my days", and went on to say that this was "the glamour of men who had the opportunity to be". Dr. Leavis has the opportunity to be one of the first distinguished scholars truly to assess the potential of the computer. I hope that he will not continue to be imprisoned in his proven, finite existence all his days.

YOUR REVIEWER.

Sir,—Mr. F. R. Leavis (may we leave Dr. for those who cure our ailments?) deploys some grandly relevant commonplaces about the university in a properly human world. Since they are commonplaces, however relevant, all depends on the eloquence with which they are presented. The fact is that all would go into a box of 500 words on your front page or into one short letter in your correspondence pages, had Mr. Leavis, after these sterile earnest years, managed to educate himself in plain discourse and free himself from the sense of slight.

Since a basic value is involved, may I summarize a life's experience of Mr. Leavis's pedagogy for the wider audience? When he wrote on writings I found him useful, a kind of litmus paper, if he praised a living or modern author, probably the author was [illegible] if he condemned such an author [illegible] sibly he was good. He has a [illegible] at general targets. But does Mr. [illegible] ever ask himself if as a [illegible] "English" he deserves respect [illegible] uses the instrument and [illegible] "English" in such a heavily [illegible] and uneducated, or at any rate [illegible] way; and when he remains [illegible] so ridiculously in the self [illegible] makes him aggressive?

I ask how on earth such a [illegible] has emerged from his proper [illegible] of lecture-room or class-room [illegible] debating society. I reflect [illegible] Leavis must be right. We are [illegible] way. We must be, when we [illegible] such teaching, in such a revealing [illegible] and such priggery.

GEOFFREY GRI[illegible]

Sir,—Many people besides [illegible] must have been dismayed by the [illegible] tisement for the *TLS* that app[illegible] *The Times* and *The Guardian* [illegible] 22. It was natural enough [illegible] *TLS* having secured for publi[illegible] lecture by F. R. Leavis, should [illegible] the opportunity to try to [illegible] sales, but what excuse is there for [illegible] your publicity with advance des[illegible] of the sales-boosting contribu[illegible] we were in for a mere orgy of [illegible] onslaughts, as your adver[illegible] suggested, why were you so pl[illegible] have obtained the lecture? W[illegible] that even the "higher" press is [illegible] affected by the economic p[illegible] which give train-robbers their [illegible] tance in a literate society, b[illegible] Mr. Biggs hasn't been treated [illegible] as your advertisement treat[illegible] Leavis—and who apart from Mr [illegible] has ever been treated like that [illegible] *TLS*? But our point in writing [illegible] just to protect against the p[illegible] personal insult to your contri[illegible] valuable contributor, bad tho[illegible] is. When you prepared the pu[illegible] the lecture by telling them th[illegible] writer was "incensed", that "he [illegible] up the cudgels" against [illegible] Annan, that "of course, [illegible] Snow comes in for a few [illegible] the club", and that the "battle [illegible] begun was to be carried on for [illegible] by the "passionate" ranks of [illegible] porters of both sides"—when you [illegible] vertised the lecture like that you [illegible] insulting yourselves, your readers [illegible] the intellectual life in general. You [illegible] doing your best to have the lecture [illegible] ceived in a bad, sensational atmos[illegible] to ensure that, if Leavis should [illegible] chance have something important [illegible] in relation to which his "swings [illegible] club" might turn out to be utterly [illegible] ent from what that choice phras[illegible] gests, your readers, assured in [illegible] as to the kind of weeks-long mud[illegible] ing debauch you were gleefully o[illegible] them, would not be disposed to [illegible] or to care. What world are we [illegible] in, when the *TLS* delights in pre[illegible] ing to personalities and sensatio[illegible] all possibility of urgent impe[illegible] thought about the problems of our [illegible]

And did the *TLS* have the co[illegible] and the courtesy to let Mr. Leavis [illegible] that this was how they proposed to [illegible] licize his contribution?

ALEC MERRISON.
HENRY GIFFORD.
CHRISTOPHER RI[illegible]
J. C. F. LITTLEWOO[illegible]
Senate House, The University, [illegible]

(*Other letters on page* [illegible])

NEXT WEEK
The Communicati[illegible] of Science

from [illegible] list

Travels of [illegible] regrettably [illegible] list. But [illegible] even massive [illegible] only complete [illegible] Nights in [illegible] Golden L[illegible] Conference [illegible] 20s, and by [illegible] A Collection [illegible] recently [illegible] 50s.

ROUTLEDGE

[illegible] National Portrait Gallery card of William III says: "When offered the English [illegible] he welcomed the chance to [illegible] England into his coalition [illegible] Louis XIV." This will do [illegible] 1689, but the truth about 1688 [illegible] the exact opposite. The [illegible] came over to force England [illegible] her non-alignment, and to stop [illegible]nnel's Ireland falling into the [illegible] France, as a consequence (in [illegible] words of Archdeacon Echard, [illegible] the first historians of the Revolution) of the "great Confederacy [illegible] War against France"; or rather, [illegible] sion was "an Incident inter[illegible] with it". When the armada [illegible] out of the Maas, French troops [illegible] already occupied a series of [illegible] fortresses and papal Avignon; a descent on Civitavecchia was called off after the news from [illegible]. Worse, the Nymegen [illegible] of 1679, which William [illegible] liked, had been followed by [illegible] of descents, or expected [illegible], of which Louis XIV's [illegible] are only the best known. [illegible] downfall, indeed most of the [illegible] reign, of James II thus needs [illegible] placed in the whole framework [illegible] European realpolitik, extending [illegible] to Belgrade and Gottorp, if it [illegible] to be read as the plain work [illegible] Nemesis, the fulfilment of his [illegible] "I told you so".

[illegible] though his publishers claim too [illegible] originality for it, this is Mr. [illegible] well's angle of approach. When [illegible] invaders tasted Devon cider and [illegible] their portable bridge [illegible] the twists of the Stour the [illegible] by rail from Exeter to Salisbury [illegible] still sees the topography of [illegible] advance—they were taking [illegible] "huge combined operation [illegible] from the Rhine to the [illegible]". Their leader is seen as [illegible] of the greatest soldier-politicians of his own or any other time", [illegible] "military adventure" for the [illegible] gamble it was.

[illegible] Carswell tells a story too well [illegible] dwelling at length on the [illegible] of Magdalen and the seven [illegible]. He is relatively slight, and [illegible] less sure, on the more [illegible] diplomatic missions of [illegible] and Waldeck to the German courts. He acknowledges, but [illegible] display, the skill exercised [illegible] Pensionary Fagel in handling [illegible] Dutch politicians and quasi[illegible] Amsterdam; there are even [illegible] startling dates in the back[illegible] here, no doubt the detritus of [illegible] proof-reading. And he curi[illegible] neglects the great standard [illegible] of Onno Klopp on the fall of [illegible] House of Stuart, while relying too [illegible] Lavisse for his knowledge [illegible] and on the printed dis[illegible] of ambassadors—d'Avaux [illegible] Hague, Barrillon in London—[illegible] springs of French diplomacy. [illegible] are faults of proportion and [illegible] in an alert and strongly [illegible] narrative which never loses [illegible] its title.

[illegible] best of it—the third and [illegible] part—deals with the invasion [illegible] is not to say that Mr. Carswell [illegible] no fresh insights or evid[illegible] offers on its prolegomena. He

William Prince of Orange

Aspects of the English Revolution, 1688

JOHN CARSWELL:
The Descent on England
A Study of the English Revolution of 1688 and its European Background.
259pp. Barrie and Rockliff: The Cresset Press. £2 10s.

PIETER GEYL:
Orange and Stuart, 1641-72
Translated by Arnold Pomerans.
443pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £3 5s.

is at all points an acute and thoughtful observer, as well as a crisp and charming writer, with a dry wit that is never facetious. The Sussex audience which heard the lectures from which his study is derived must certainly have stayed awake. His technique is to write down what strikes him, make up his mind, and follow up two or three research trails that his predecessors, even on this well-trodden ground, have neglected.

For example, having made the fresh point that James's notorious questionnaire in the winter of 1687 served to polarize a national debate, Mr. Carswell has taken pains to tabulate statistically, county by county, the replies given by the magistracy of England and Wales. It is conventional to describe these as generally favourable to the King's Indulgence policy, but there are great differences between Kent (54 per cent Consents) and Dorset (79 per cent Refusals). The figures are not exhaustive and some of the samples are very small; also, of the 1,500 names, half gave doubtful replies or pleaded absence. Nevertheless, it is of some interest that support for James at that juncture was weakest (or opposition activity strongest) in Wales and the South-West. In thirteen English counties the Consent vote was as high on average as 41 per cent of those questioned. This analysis is based on Duckett's two volumes, *Penal Laws and Test Act*, which have been available since 1883.

As we know from Professor Kenyon's biography of Sunderland, it was that minister's unhappy fate to keep on advising against writs for a new Parliament until it could be counted on to "consent"—a receding goal, as he saw it, in 1688. Sunderland's information was the best available: but who could fathom the positive attitudes of Nonconformity, let alone of the Church of England and the gentry, towards liberation from popery at the hands of a Calvinist Dutchman? How to balance repeal of the Test against the risks of civil war, or Passive Obedience against Property? Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter, reported as a reliable Williamite in May, 1687, vanished from his see in November, 1688; and William had been lodged in the deanery there for a week before the local gentry even began to come in, though this was a "Refusal" county. His duel with the English politicians after James's flight was tougher going than the bloodless campaign which—avoiding so far as possible a confrontation between Dutch and English soldiers—he had envisaged all along, with a foresight emphasized by Mr. Carswell. Even at Salisbury, Bentinck, William's closest confidant and chief organizer of the complex invading force, could deny the prince's aspirations at the Crown as "the most wicked insinuation that could be invented". Clearly, English opinion was susceptible to all sorts of emotive pressures and extremely difficult to predict. Hence the enormous importance of propaganda, of libel and counter-libel on both sides, and still more of first-rate intelligence.

Mr. Carswell is alive to the absolutely central importance of Fagel in these matters. He died (as did Bentinck's wife) on the eve of success, thereby giving his master cause to worry about the management of Dutch politics before he was in control of English, but his propaganda machine throughout these years should one day repay the kind of detailed investigation that Professor Haley carried out for 1672-74. There is much one would like to know, for instance, about its relations with English booksellers; it would have been easier to land 50,000 leaflets than to distribute them. On the whole, Mr. Carswell does more to illuminate Fagel's intelligence system. Secret agents and double-agents, ciphers and intercepts, are the cloak-and-dagger stuff which too many professional historians disdain, but Anglo-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century were made and destroyed by them. The North Sea might be traversed in a single tide, easy use made of fishing-boats and creeks.

Above all, there was that large and quarrelsome community of Englishmen and Scots in service or refuge in the Netherlands: merchants and soldiers, scholars and students, Exclusionists and Covenanters, bankrupts and criminals whose extradition was obstructed by the constitution of the United Provinces. The court of Orange was itself a centre of attraction for them and William had been the target of their importunities from first youth, as one may learn from the late Pieter Geyl, whose famous study (first published in Dutch thirty years ago) aptly complements Mr. Carswell's "pre-revolutionary underworld". Reading the two together, it is plain enough why the prince learnt to mask his intentions and to choose his instruments with care.

Mr. Carswell, one of whose assets is that he appreciates the importance of Scottish affairs and indeed the fundamental tensions occasioned by the "opposite religious magnetism" of Scotland and Ireland, gives prominence to William Carstares, in 1689 Moderator of the Church of Scotland and later Principal of Edinburgh University. In his earlier career this vice-chancellor had been the aptest pupil in Peter du Moulin's school of spies. Nothing, perhaps, illustrates more strikingly the ambivalent loyalties of the time than the correspondence between Carstares in Holland and that double renegade James Stewart, the channel through which the British Government tried so hard to bring William into full and open support of Indulgence. It was a sound instinct that led Mr. Carswell to the Wodrow Manuscripts at Edinburgh, where this double-edged and hitherto neglected correspondence is to be found. He has also a happy knack of individualizing the British exiles who took their various parts in William's schemes. The soldiers—Mackay, Cutts, Talmash, and others of the six British regiments in Holland—interest him no less than the secret agents; he has room in his conclusion to summarize their later careers and, in particular, to deplore the premature death of the brilliant Talmash in the raid on Camaret Bay.

With this orientation, the judgments on James and his following almost inevitably lean towards harshness. Dartmouth's handling of James's fleet is described as "dithering" or "faint pursuit"; yet more than one Protestant wind blew in 1688, and there were Protestant calms as well. It is not true that Dartmouth was caught *behind* the Gunfleet when the armada took its unexpected southerly course, though he had to get round the head of the Longsand when the ebb tide was almost spent. Nor did a council of war on board his flagship then decide to avoid a fight, which of course was the gravest danger to Admiral Herbert's convoy: Mr. Carswell is absent-mindedly quoting the wholly unofficial resolution of some of Dartmouth's unreliable captains a week later, as reported in Herbert's *Memoirs*, not (as he claims) in the Dartmouth Manuscripts for October 30 (or even November 5, the true date of his reference). For once, too, he allows an unfriendly wit to swamp his good sense in quoting with approval Father Con's quip about the nuncio d'Adda as "un Giovanetto, un bel *coram vobis* per far l'amore alle donne",

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JONATHAN CAPE

True or not, the nuncio's intelligence emerges with more credit than that of the Jesuits from Professor Kenyon's searching study of his friend Sunderland.

On James II himself Mr. Carswell's views are conventional. The King is tarred with typical "woodenness" for including in his Scottish Indulgence a disclaimer about confiscating secularized abbey lands, and of giving only an impression of generosity to the Huguenots—whereas there are grounds for crediting him with genuine sympathy for the victims of religious intolerance per se. Something of the inner man appears in the scene at St. Winefrede's Well, the subject of a learned footnote, when James prayed for a son and offered up "some fragments of the shift which Mary, his grandmother, had worn at her execution": but where did Mr. Carswell find her executed? From his point of view, moreover, there was room for a finer analysis of the King's foreign policy. Admitting that this was compromised by Indulgence and the absence of a parliament, it seems facile to suggest that he ought to have closed with William or Louis, both of whom and not one alone were in a strong position to take reprisals. Faced with this agonizing dilemma, James may at least be respected for avoiding the subservience which Versailles demanded of all its allies. It could be argued that he adumbrated that Atlantic (as distinct from a European) policy which Harley and Bolingbroke were to develop. One cannot too often recall that he was a big American proprietor as well as a Roman Catholic, and that he had a long and extensive acquaintance with the City, which in turn contained some powerful prerogative men. He was in many ways a more modern man than "le petit sieur de Breda".

William, so astonishingly free from illusions by comparison with James or Louis, was the protagonist of liberty in the sense of antique franchises and privileges, a champion of the status quo. This lay at the root of his magnificent and precocious sense of "the public good" of Europe, though his American geography was poor. Mr. Carswell does good service in drawing attention to his quality as "a landed gentleman" and to the freedom conferred by the wealth of the Nassau estates. He might have added how well this suited most of the English nobility, whose alienation was James's supreme mistake. William's Calvinism, however, remains his salient characteristic. It redeemed what might otherwise have been mere myth-making, on that sunny morning when his ships stood into desolate Torbay with "pro libertate et religione" streaming from their mastheads.

In Geyl's study, which it is good to have at last in translation, a very readable one, too, the young William cuts a rather enigmatic figure, as well he might, seeing that he emerged actively into public life only on the eve of the descent on his own country in 1672. Previously, during the "seclusion" imposed by Cromwell's treaty on this fatherless cousin of Charles II when he was not yet four, the prince had been a political force chiefly as a rallying-point for Dutch malcontents and, much less reliably, as a lever for Charles's intricate diplomacy.

All this is unwound in great detail and fully documented, but it is based throughout on the unexamined predicate of an Orange "party", by which Geyl means principally the somewhat sordid hangers-on of the little court in the Binnenhof, but at times the greater part of the Dutch nation. There is no attempt to analyse the party structure; only for a decade past have Dutch historians begun to use Namierian methods, which should in due course unlock much that is still most baffling in the politics of True Liberty. Except perhaps in Zeeland, it is far from clear how or where the Orange "cliques" operated. At moments of national danger they turn into a popular movement: but how and why? Clerical leadership and Orange pamphleteering cannot explain everything. Economic circumstances and social psychology must have something to do with the epidemic outbursts of hatred for the *regenten*. Geyl's book is too much of a diplomatic history to satisfy a reader now. Even in his accounts of Anglo-Dutch negotiations he all but left out the central economic conflicts. This being so, it was rather grand of him to affirm that "modern historians have an exaggerated tendency to explain all historical eve[nts] in economic terms alone, and the[reby] to oversimplify matters".

What inspired *Orange and Stuart* was a profound conviction of [the] harm administered to Dutch po[licy], internal and external, by the seri[es of] Anglo-Orange marriage allian[ces] which Geyl held finally respo[nsible] for the collapse of the old Rep[ublic]. But party strife would surely [have] run high anyhow—it was b[itter] enough between the anti-Ora[ngist] factions—and "bondage to E[ng]land" might be regarded as a co[nse]quence of values shared by two [un]equal powers, rather than a dyna[stic] curse. This book may even be [most] valuable for its painstaking no[tice] of the fluctuations in Dutch opi[nion] as violent as in England and refle[cted] in pamphleteering quite as le[...]. Himself a gifted polemicist, Geyl [was] impassioned by the fires of [the] controversies. He wrote as an [un]inhibited admirer of John de W[itt], as a devout patriot and a hate[r of] demagogy: not for nothing was [he] fond of calling himself the [last] Dutch liberal. For all these rea[sons] William of Orange was acceptabl[e to] him only as a great Dutchman. [...] the self-assurance bred in William [by] illustrious ancestors and dogm[atic] predestination, for his tacti[cal] cunning and use of the crowd, [the] last of the Dutch liberals felt unc[on]cealed distaste. In England, our E[ng]land, these traits were essen[tial] ingredients of the Glorious Revolu[tion].

To the Editor

The 'Coupon'

Sir,—Your reviewer of Stephen Roskill's *Hankey* (April 23) concludes with the allegation that Lloyd George and Bonar Law, "by manipulating the coupon at the General Election", did their best to expel from public life the 106 M.P.s who voted against the Government after the Maurice debate. This is a myth, as Trevor Wilson has shown in his *Downfall of the Liberal Party*. Of the 106 M.P.s concerned (or 108 including the two tellers), twenty-five did not stand for re-election and twelve more did not stand as Liberals. Six stood in constituencies where no coupon was issued, and eleven actually received the coupon. On the other side, four Liberals who voted for the Government had the coupon issued against them, and of the 159 Liberals who received the coupon only fifty-four had voted for the Government in the Maurice debate.

The coupon was intended to ensure that Liberals who supported Lloyd George's Government would not be opposed by Conservative candidates. Is it suggested that Lloyd George should have tried to secure the return of Liberals who wished to overthrow him?

A. J. P. TAYLOR.

Beaverbrook Library, 33 St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4.

¶ Our reviewer writes—I do not think that we should settle a matter of this kind by the adding machine. The important point is the intention of Lloyd George and Bonar Law to use the coalition "coupon" against those voting with Asquith in the Maurice debate. The matter is placed beyond argument by the speech on November 23, 1918, which Lloyd George made in Wolverhampton—the East division was a famous Liberal constituency. He explained that he and Bonar Law were not going to accept the candidates chosen by the party [...] without demur". He defined the coupon as an expression of his and Bonar Law's opinion as to the men "who will give steady support". This passage immediately follows a reference to those opposing him in the Maurice debate which he called "a parliamentary conspiracy", adding that if the country wants that class of man "it will be impossible for us to get through the great task before us". The incidence of the coupon may have been selective: this speech made it comprehensive.

Dickens Editions

Sir,—We were glad to see Professor Collins's appreciation (April 16) of the strength of Bodleian holdings of the novels of Dickens in the original parts, and we applaud his tribute to Mr. Simon Nowell-Smith. Mr. Nowell-Smith has been a good friend and a very generous benefactor to the Bodleian library and we owe much to his encouragement and advice. But Mr. Collins's brief account does less than justice to the work of my predecessors and of my present colleagues.

The importance of publication by numbers in Dickens's career has long been recognized, and it has been the policy of this library, for the past thirty to forty years, to collect his novels in original parts whenever opportunity offers and funds permit. In this form we have tried to collect not only the novels of Dickens but also those of, for instance, George Eliot, Thackeray and Trollope.

Our holdings certainly do not compare with those of some American libraries, but the need has been appreciated and what has been achieved has been the result of a long-considered official policy, encouraged by the kindly interest and generosity of our friends.

I. G. PHILIP.

Keeper of Printed Books, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Sir,—It is regrettable that Professor Collins, when he wrote his letter published in your issue of April 16, was unaware of the acquisition, by the British Museum last year, of the extremely valuable J. F. Dexter Dickens Collection, believed to be the most important private collection of Dickens material in this country. Mention of the Museum's acquisition was made in the May, 1969, issue of *The Dickensian* and an admittedly passing reference to the collection was made in the *TLS* of August 21 last in connexion with a notice of exhibitions to be held to mark the Dickens centenary year.

The presence of the J. F. Dexter collection has materially strengthened the Museum's holdings of Dickens's works. From a bibliographical point of view probably the most valuable part of the collection is the set of first editions of all Dickens's novels in the first states of the original parts, with the original wrappers and advertisements. Many of the works contain additional material such as press-notices and proof or trial copies of illustrations, including cancelled plates. Mention may be made of the trial etching of "The Review" by R. W. Buss for the *Pickwick Papers* and the unique cancelled plate "Visitors to George's Shooting Gallery" by "Phiz" in part nine of *Bleak House*.

The Dexter copies of the novels formed the material for Thomas Hatton and Arthur H. Cleaver's *A Bibliography of the Periodical Works of Charles Dickens* (London, 1933); Cleaver was Dexter's son-in-law and the inheritor of his collection.

Although the British Museum acquired by copyright deposit as they appeared the parts of Dickens's periodically issued works, these did not receive special treatment at the time and when they were bound in volumes the wrappers were mostly thrown away. The Museum has been deterred from purchasing other copies by the knowledge that there was a great deal of "making-up" of copies of part issues in the 1890s and the early part of this century; the Dexter copies were, however, largely collected before this practice began.

The notice in *The Dickensian* states that the collection is at present being catalogued; shortage of staff has unfortunately delayed this work, but material from the Dexter collection will form the basis of the Museum's Dickens exhibition in June.

A. H. CHAPLIN.

Principal Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum, London, W.C.1.

Sir,—For the information of Professor Philip Collins, whose letter you published on April 16, and all other Dickensiana researchers, it ought to be known that Eastbourne Public Libraries possess an extensive collection of Dickens first editions.

The collection was gathered together by Mr. Gilbert S. Foyle, and presented to Eastbourne Public Libraries in 1959.

While not even the British Museum nor any of the other major libraries of this country possess a set of the original *Pickwick Papers*, there is a set in Eastbourne, together with *Sketches by Boz*; *Little Dorrit*; *A Tale of Two Cities*; *Our Mutual Friend*; *Edwin Drood*; *Dombey and Son*; *David Copperfield*; *Bleak House*; *Martin Chuzzlewit*; *Nicholas Nickleby*; *Master Humphrey's Clock*; all in their original parts.

The collection contains also first editions of *Oliver Twist* in th[ree] volumes; *Nicholas Nickleby* bo[und] from the original parts; *Master Hum[phrey's] Clock* in four volumes; *American Notes* in two volumes; *Christmas Books*; and *Great Expecta[tions]* in three volumes.

It becomes obvious that the Dicke[ns] Collection at Eastbourne is not o[nly] unique but far outshines in comple[te]ness even any American compariso[n]. This opportunity to reply to Profe[ssor] Collins is welcomed because the ex[ist]ence of Eastbourne's Dickens Coll[ec]tion seems to be comparatively [un]known, and because the literary tr[ea]sure of one of England's grea[test] writers is still a national treasure [and] will always remain so in Eastbourne.

A. G. S. ENSER.

Borough Librarian, County Borough of Eastbourne Public Libraries, Ce[ntral] Library, Grove Road, Eastbourne.

Northern Arts Association

Sir,—Last week's letter would [have] made interesting reading ha[d it] been for one essential p[oint]: [the] appointment has already bee[n made] and accepted. The writers of [the letter] knew this very well long befor[e they] started to write to you. Their [letter] therefore can serve no purpose ex[cept] to embarrass the successful [candi]date—Mr. Barry Cole of Lo[ndon]— and to devalue the work of [the] Association, from which they all [bene]fit substantially.

As soon as I received the[ir] intimation of criticism about [the ap]pointment, I called an emergency [meet]ing of the full Literature Panel at [which] Peter Lewis put forward all the [points] he and the other writers are [now] making again. The Panel considered the comments at length but rejected them. With one abstention the Panel agreed that the selection procedure had been carried out [proper]ly and that the decision was [entirel]y acceptable. I also kept the [Univ]ersities of Durham and Newcastle, who are associated with the [fellowsh]ip, informed of all the criticism, and they took the same view as [the Lit]erature Panel.

[Finall]y, may I say that we believe [Mr.] Cole is a writer of great [talent] and we feel he will make a [valu]able contribution to the cul[tural life] of the region.

DAVID DOUGAN.

[North]ern Arts Association, Newcastle [upon Ty]ne.

[Sir,]—As an expatriate whose eye is [...] caught by the headline [Northe]rn Arts Association, and who [subs]equently read the letter from [...]rison and others (April 23), [may I] offer you my reaction, which is [that] writers have ultimately to [please re]aders, the funds in question [being pub]licly dispensed by a disinter[ested co]mmittee, and not by the writ[ers themselves].

[Incident]ally I possess copies of the [first issu]es of *Stand*, which I bought [as a] Newcastle undergraduate. I thus [backed] Mr. Silkin's project, with no [...]tions, short deliberation, and [very] little spare cash. I was not [aware] that this greatly annoyed him!

SALLY EVANS.

[...] Lavender Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.

[T]ranslating Poetry

[Sir],—In his original article (February [...]) [Derw]ent May wrote: "The editors [do] their best to find work with[in the li]mits of their taste [he had earlier [...] outlined what he thought [it was]] by printing a great many [translat]ions." From this we quite rea[sonably] deduced that he was suggesting [...], or not, we padded [...] translation what we could not [find] by way of original work. Mr. [May] writes (April 9) that this was [not wha]t he meant, and we can only [accept] this nevertheless is how we [read his] remarks.

[...] we are now speaking more frankly we think it would be reasonable to make another complaint, about the tone of Mr. May's original article, parts of which, on rereading, still seem to us patronizing. It is not easy to pin down either the meaning or the intention which such a tone reflects, but remarks such as "none [of the translations are] very thrillingly translated" convey dismissive implications that the writer could not be bothered, or was unable, to individualize precisely and directly. We happen to feel that tonal condescension is an especially English malaise whereby often quite damaging implications are offered without anything substantial being said. It was only when mildly challenged that Mr. May repeated his points—"the frequently poor quality of their translations"—in a less patronizing way; although this opinion somewhat conflicts with what he wrote in an earlier article (January 1, 1968) where, speaking again, and making the same kind of points about our editorial preferences, and having listed a number of foreign writers in translation that we had published, he concluded with "a good range of mainly good work, certainly enough to justify the policy".

Mr. May is of course allowed to change his mind, even without reference to his previous comments, but we think that we could even so point to a number of translated works which ought to refute his apparently revised opinions: Michael Hamburger's Hölderlin, Brecht, Enzensberger; Isaac Babel (by several different translators); Edwin Morgan's and Daniel Weissbort's Voznesensky and Soloukhin; and Taner Baybar's translation of Hikmet's "Letters to Taranta-Babu". Perhaps one should not look for endorsement via the judgments of other publishers, but it might be added that a considerable proportion of what we have published has been or is to be produced in book form by other publishers.

Yet our principal objection remains, and is related to the condescension, as we see it, of Mr. May's original review, and it is that his comments remain unsupported by definition or instance. In his reply to our first letter Mr. May's tone changes to one of rebuke at our apparent dishonesty, but he has still not defined what he means by his phrase "poor quality"; that is, what he means by a good translation. If he thinks certain translations are poor perhaps he should trouble to name these, and account for his judgment.

Finally, looking back on the two articles of 1968 and 1970 it might be added that Mr. May makes, in essence, the same points about the magazine's editorial policy, and in such a way as to imply that he has a theory about the work we want: a "preference for work full of strong, earnest emotion" (1968); "a pretty unrelieved note of urgency and profundity" (1970). And perhaps in this view of our policy the suggestion that emerges is that we do not much care what we print providing the work is, as he wrote in his last letter, "sufficiently anguished and urgent in tone". This, as far as we are aware, is not the case, and perhaps Mr. May might now, as we've already asked, be persuaded to define and account for his strictures.

JON SILKIN.
JON GLOVER.

Stand, Newcastle upon Tyne.

¶ Derwent May writes:—When I was asked by the editor of the *TLS* three years ago to contribute an occasional series of articles on little magazines, I decided that it would be better not to make the usual encouraging allowances for the fact that the editors were putting a lot of hard, voluntary work into on the whole a thankless task, but simply to criticize the magazines' contents as one would any other published poems or prose. At the same time I felt, and hoped I conveyed, nothing but good will towards the magazines. Perhaps it is this combination that the editors of *Stand* find patronizing, but the editors of several other little magazines have expressed agreement with my approach. As to my criticisms of *Stand*, which I think were really quite plain, I don't see much point in going into them a third time. Any readers of the *TLS* who are still interested in the subject would probably prefer now to judge for themselves.

We apologize to Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton for reviewing their book, *British Foreign Policy Since Suez, 1956-1968* by Donald Maclean, ten days before publication date. The book will be available on May 4.

New Recognition for
Jane Gillespie
author of
The Ring of Winter

'Miss Gillespie's style is as sharp as her observation, her wit fastening on to human inconsistencies like fish-hooks ...'
John Whitley, The Sunday Times

'One of the most valuable functions of the novel is to reveal the extra-ordinariness of the ordinary. It is none the less valuable for being at present underrated, and it is good to see the old tradition upheld so effortlessly in Jane Gillespie's *The Ring of Winter*.'
Iain Hamilton The Daily Telegraph

'What an artful novelist Miss Gillespie is—leading us so tweedily up the country garden path . . . The aim is to put you off your guard . . . How is it going to end: with a bang, a whisper, a tinkle of ladylike tea-cups? And who finally gets the chop? The suspense is admirably handled.'
Norman Shrapnel, The Guardian

'It is particularly agreeable to find a writer who is so concerned with words. All Miss Gillespie's characters have their own individual speech characteristics, which nowadays is both rare and pleasant.'
Daphne Castell, The Glasgow Herald

'The writer has added a distinguished novel to her list.'
Rosaleen Whately, Liverpool Daily Post

Peter Davies
Just published

"[...] lordships, knighthoods [...] prompts young people to [...] as something they can sew [...] backsides of their trousers."

"[...] present reverence for inertia [...] British workers is one of the [...] characteristics of the [...] economy."

"[...] still in British business a [...] to take serious problems [...] because that would be un[...]."

[...] quotations make you see red, [...] think there's a bit of truth [...] or both—you will find this [...] of the British malaise by [...] of the Australian *Bulletin* [...] and controversial.

GOD IS AN ENGLISHMAN
Donald Horne
[...] April 30
[ANGUS] AND ROBERTSON
[...] 36s
PENGUIN BOOKS

Commentary

One interesting feature of the National Book League's annual British Book Production Exhibition (open in London until May 8) is the breaking of a hitherto iron rule that for a book to be British it had to be designed, manufactured and published in Britain. In fact, it was broken twice this year. *The Complete Pelican Shakespeare* was designed (and very well designed) by Hans Schmoller who has been responsible for Penguin's lead in this department since the war, but it was printed in Tennessee on American paper, to return for publication to Vigo Street by Allen Lane The Penguin Press. Again, a fine edition of poems by R. S. Thomas, *The Mountains*, with wood-engravings by Reynolds Stone after John Piper (a magnificent combination), was designed by Will Carter, printed by him with his son Sebastian, and bound by the Cambridge University Press, but published in the United States by that enlightened patron, Lou Cowan, at his Chilmark Press. What are rules for but to be broken? If this is the end of a rigid chauvinism that has excluded in the past some fine books, British in inspiration, but spotted by some trifling stain of foreignness, so much the better.

It is also to be welcomed as a small step towards Anglo-American co-operation in book production. It always seems absurd that the same book in the same language should appear on different sides of the Atlantic in totally different forms. But things are moving: it is clear that in such matters as format and typography there is less difference than there used to be. Perhaps the final shibboleth—spelling—will go one day.

The exhibition also includes an "international" side, as it does every other year. This time the contributing countries were few: Australia, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, Hungary, Italy (a trifling and completely unrepresentative exhibit), New Zealand, Pakistan and Switzerland. No France, no Spain, no Belgium, nothing from Scandinavia, East Germany, or the Netherlands, all prominent contributors in past years: presumably the N.B.L. has to take what comes, but this selection is hardly international in any real sense. The result is that the British books dominated the show: this unexpected factor, assisted by the rather muted quality of the usually dominant German exhibit, gives the illusion that the continued decline in manufacturing quality in this country (noted again by the selectors) has been arrested. But there are a few signs—a slightly more professional touch in design, fewer books printed on rough transparent paper—that it is not an illusion. It would be nice to think that British books are on the way back to prewar standards, however much techniques and taste have altered since then.

* * *

How much do authors care about the physical appearance of their books? If Shaw was the showy representative of the 1930s, insistent on setting his own standards on the production of the Standard Edition of his works—a comparatively simple thing this, since he was in effect his own publisher (Constable's role was to arrange the printing, binding and distribution of the master's works)—Graham Greene is the archetypal author-carer of the 1960s. When domestic differences between Greene and Messrs. Heinemann (who own the copyright of many of his earlier novels) were, a little while back, settled in Paris with the tactful help of Max Reinhardt (Greene's present publisher) it was agreed that a Collected Edition of Greene's works could bring benefits not only to author and his two publishing houses, but to the reading public at large. Greene, though, was Shavianly insistent that the design of the books should be the prerogative of the Bodley Head's John Ryder (who, incidentally, is responsible for that same publisher's edition of the Collected Plays of Bernard Shaw).

Well, then, on the desk before us are the first fruits of the collaboration issued under the joint imprint of the Bodley Head and Heinemann—*It's a Battlefield* (1934), *England Made Me* (1935), *Brighton Rock* (1938), and *Our Man in Havana* (1958). At the moment no explanation of this curious chronological arrangement is available and in this instance comparisons with the 1948 Uniform Edition of *It's a Battlefield*, resting on the same desk, are even more odious than they are most of the time. True, the price of that edition was 7s. 6d., but for the new imprint's 35s. we are offered not only an infinitely better bound and printed (by William Clowes) book (set in Monotype Plantin Light), but also a brand new introduction to each volume by the author.

Graham Greene is at present writing his autobiography and it is perhaps a teasing taste of this that we get in the introductions: "Many times since *Brighton Rock* I have been forced to declare myself not a Catholic writer but a writer who happens to be a Catholic"; "After the publication of my first novel any English and American publishers had guaranteed me six hundred pounds a year for three years to leave my safe job [as a sub-editor] on *The Times*"; "I have seldom employed living models in a novel except for very minor characters". And if anyone wants to know where Greene's heart is (when not of the matter), let him read the fresh preface to *Our Man in Havana*. Praise, praise, not quite all the way. Horses come mostly before carts but the other way round has been known. Was the Collected Edition planned before the edition of the *Collected Essays*? If so, surely it was a little ungenerous to make that latter volume just a shade more bulky so that it doesn't fit quite so snugly in the same shelf as the others. Does it have to be done all over again as part of the Collected Edition?

* * *

Just as the keen psychoanalyst hobnobbing with Freud would have been well advised not to make any slips of the tongue, so the anthropologist who sits at the same dinner-table with Claude Lévi-Strauss can hardly expect to get away with framing Nature for a crime actually attributable to his own culture. The lax savant who attempted this is derided though not named in a truly gripping review-article by Lévi-Strauss in the latest issue of the French anthropological review, *L'Homme*. The subject is mushrooms and the book being reviewed R. G. Wasson's splendid *Soma, Divine Mushroom of Immortality* (reviewed in the *TLS*, May 22, 1969). Mr. Wasson's extraordinary studies in the new discipline of ethno-mycology began when he realized that he, an Anglo-Saxon, did not care too much for or about mushrooms whereas his wife, who was of Russian origin, did.

Lévi-Strauss, it seems, was explaining to the dinner guests the exciting and unusual taxonomy of cultures subsequently made possible by Mr. Wasson's researches, according to how they viewed or used the local fungi, when a British colleague, nonchalant to the last, intervened to defend our national neglect of such growths by saying that we do not have many mushrooms in this country anyway. A sheer smokescreen, according to Lévi-Strauss; we have lots of mushrooms, the consciousness of whose existence we suppress because we are the prisoners of our own cultural mycophobia. And in the course of his essay the inability of Anglo-Saxons to face up bravely to the fungoid facts comes in for quite a roasting. So much so that by the end Lévi-Strauss has sown the seeds for an even more refined cultural taxonomy; one which divides peoples into mycophobes and mycophobophobes.

The Inimitable Dickens
A Reading of the Novels
A. E. Dyson
A general critical reassessment of Dickens's novels from *The Old Curiosity Shop* to *Edwin Drood*. Mr. Dyson regards Dickens as, without reservation, 'our greatest English prose writer', and his book—written in an easy and extremely readable style—is an expression of intense though discriminating enthusiasm. 70s

Uncollected Prose by W. B. Yeats
Volume 1 First Reviews and Articles 1886-1896
Collected and edited by John P. Frayne
The articles and reviews gathered here for the first time in book form constitute a major addition to the corpus of Yeats's writings and should result in a fundamental revision of our ideas about Yeats's early career. £8

New Basic History of the United States
Charles A. and Mary R. Beard
Third edition
The authors trace the development of the social, military, political, economic and intellectual heritage of America. Dr. William Beard has brought up to date the earlier edition of his parents' work, adding a new preface, some new illustrations and new closing material on America's post-war role, with particular reference to the increasing complexity of the presidential function in an atomic age and the rapid development of social welfare programmes. 90s

Rajahs and Rebels
The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841-1941
Robert Pringle
This book relates the history of the White Rajahs of Sarawak, delineates in detail their government of the Ibans, a major Borneo tribal society, and evaluates the nature and consequences of their administration in the broader context of European rule in South-East Asia. 130s

Seaports and Development in Tropical Africa
Edited by B. S. Hoyle and D. Hilling
The essays in this book have been brought together to emphasise the important role of seaports in the economic growth of underdeveloped areas, and to demonstrate the increasing interest now focused upon this problem by geographers of tropical Africa.
Boards 80s Papermac 40s

Specification and Uses of Econometric Models
T. Merritt Brown
This volume on macroeconomic theory is aimed specifically at providing theory for the building and use of econometric models. It begins by providing an overview of the total economic system and its workings, and proceeds to specify the structure of macro models of each of the five major sectors of an economic system. The final section of the book is devoted to the uses of these quantitative models once they are constructed. 90s

Macmillan

The struggle under the surface

ARTHUR J. MARDER:
From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era, 1904-1919
Volume 4: 1917: Year of Crisis.
364pp. Oxford University Press. £3 3s.

By 1917 the war at sea had reached its most critical stage. The two great battle-fleets of Britain and Germany, the building of which had contributed so significantly to the causes of the struggle, were destined never to succeed in playing the offensive role for which they had been designed. On the German side this was due to the failure to erode the numerical superiority of the Grand Fleet by torpedo and mine attacks to the degree which would make a full-scale fleet action a worthwhile risk. A perhaps exaggerated fear of the same underwater weapons had blunted the strategic and tactical aggressiveness of the Royal Navy. Neither side had the capability of bringing about a fleet action if its opponent wished to avoid it. The German navy, which had most to gain by a battle, was further restrained by the opinion of the Kaiser and his advisers that it was to Germany's advantage to keep her fleet intact.

The stalemate had a very different significance for the two protagonists. As Tirpitz bitterly pointed out in his *Memoirs*, a German navy confined to its own waters was not a "fleet in being" in the strategic sense. It was merely a collection of idle ships exercising no positive influence on the outcome of the war. The Royal Navy, in contrast, by its mere existence closed off the northern and southern exits to the North Sea and thus put an economic and strategic stranglehold on Germany, which, in a war of attrition, was bound to be fatal. Where the High Seas Fleet failed the German submarine force almost succeeded. Technological development had destroyed the classical theories of Mahan and Corbett. The submarine was about to show that it could sink merchant shipping on such a scale as to make the *guerre de course* a potentially decisive form of warfare, even against so mighty a maritime power as Britain. 1917 was a "year of crisis" not only in the naval war but in the final outcome of the whole struggle.

In this fourth and penultimate volume of his highly detailed history of Fisher's navy, Professor Marder rightly places the submarine war in the foreground. There were no major surface actions or amphibious operations. The one vital question was: could the Royal Navy find an effective way of countering the unrestricted campaign against merchant shipping before the number of sinkings made it impossible for Britain to continue the war? In the background there were developments in naval aviation, which were to be of great significance in the Second World War, and these Professor Marder outlines; but it is on the under-surface struggle, which was to determine the outcome of the war and affect the personal careers of Jellicoe, Carson and Geddes, that he rightly concentrates.

Since the appearance of Sir Henry Newbolt's work in the official history of the war, the publication of several illuminating monographs and collections of documents has clarified the main reasons for the submarines' initial success and for the slowness of the Admiralty in realizing that the convoy was the only effective counter-measure. For those who have followed these studies there are no surprises of fact or novelty of judgment. They will however be most interested in the way Professor Marder reveals the extent to which Jellicoe tried to influence Newbolt's account of his own responsibility for the delay in introducing convoy in 1917. This shows Jellicoe in a less favourable light than have recent revelations of his more restrained role in the attempts to modify Julian Corbett's account of Jutland.

Professor Marder gives the most detailed analysis so far of how the decision to adopt convoy was finally reached in the Admiralty. There was of course no truth in Lloyd George's postwar claim that it was only to forestall a direct order from him that the naval authorities abandoned their opposition to convoy, although he might have hastened the process. As this book shows, the conversion was a slow one, brought about by a combination of causes. Small practical experiments by individual local commanders showed that convoy could give security against U-boat attack. It belatedly became clear that the number of merchant ships needing convoy protection was far fewer than the opponents of the system had argued. Above all, the realization by Beatty, and directly by Duff, whom Jellicoe had put in charge of the anti-submarine war, that all other methods had failed and that nothing was to be lost by trying convoy, all contributed to making the reluctant First Sea Lord agree to its adoption, quite apart from the political pressures from the Cabinet and its secretariat.

The tragedy was that the conversion came so late and that many lives and ships were lost because of the failure not only of Jellicoe and his advisers but of his predecessors, including Fisher, to solve a problem which was well within their professional terms of reference. Professor Marder fully describes the reasons for this failure. The absence of a staff trained to think in the exact quantitative terms necessary to assess the task and the forces needed to fulfil it, was a fundamental defect in organization. The failure to appreciate the tactical advantages of convoy combined with a belief that, as a defensive form of warfare, it was unworthy of the Royal Navy were the causes of the operational misjudgment that patrol and search operations were the only way to deal with submarines.

At the root of it all was a fundamental miscalculation made long before 1914, that it was shipping routes rather than ships which had to be protected. Even when it was completely clear that all the other methods had failed, an opponent of convoy quoted by Professor Marder complained that anti-submarine vessels were being taken away from the sea routes in order to form convoy escorts! Even when the decision to adopt convoy was taken, it was months before its effects became apparent, a[illegible] careful analysis of this book [illegible] Its principles were not fully [illegible] stood, as the disastrous fail[illegible] provide the Scandinavian [illegible] with adequate protection [illegible] surface attack at the end of th[illegible] revealed. No special pleadin[illegible] conceal the fact that the Admi[illegible] attitude to convoy was profe[illegible] failure at its worst and tha[illegible] government of the day were [illegible] justified in their loss of conf[illegible] in their principal naval advis[illegible] licoe, and in dismissing him [illegible] end of the year.

As Professor Marder's wo[illegible] grown in length it has [illegible] become more laboured in its [illegible] tation. The writing is [illegible] the occasional ornaments [illegible] "Aye, there was the rub [illegible] matter" do nothing to he[illegible] reader on his long journey. [illegible] important, this present volu[illegible] tains far too many long fo[illegible] containing material which [illegible] have been incorporated in the [illegible] Surprisingly there is not a [illegible] account of convoy operation[illegible] mittedly these had none of [illegible] grandeur and drama of Ju[illegible] which Professor Marder des[illegible] so brilliantly in his previous vo[illegible] but by his own showing they [illegible] equally important. These are, [illegible] ever, small flaws compared wi[illegible] undoubted fact that to the [illegible] general reader or specialist [illegible] of naval warfare Professor Ma[illegible] whole achievement will be [illegible] pensable and unlikely ever [illegible] supplanted in the accuracy [illegible] completeness of its coverage [illegible]

Was there a Great Captain?

R. W. THOMPSON:
Montgomery the Field Marshal
344pp. Allen and Unwin. £2.10s.

North-West Europe of 1944-45 is ground which has now been well fought over by the critics and the military historians and Mr. Thompson has himself already wielded the pen on that field in three previous books. Thus, while his study of the military operations and the strategy from which they evolved is both comprehensive and soundly based, it is not surprising that he contributes little that is fresh in the domain of military history.

Mr. Thompson's critique of Lord Montgomery's generalship is interesting because it reflects the glare of publicity in which the campaign had to be fought and which lends it a particular significance for the student of war. "I doubt", says the author, "whether ever before the press and public of a nation have had so profound an impact upon the conduct of war." This was the wind which fanned the embers of the long drawn-out inter-allied wrangle over command and it fired the ambitions of Army and Army Group commanders, leading to some jockeying for position and for priorities.

It is clear that, while Mr. Thompson is prepared to give the Field Marshal the credit for the planning and execution of the great battle for Normandy which in effect settled the outcome of the campaign, and for his sure and confident touch in the Ardennes crisis, he can give him no marks for diplomacy and sums him up as a good soldier of no military genius. In fact, "There was no Great Captain." Not everyone will agree, and a study of the campaign from Mr. Thompson's pages alone reveals a great commander who deserves a better deal than this.

Of all the commanders, on either side, who fought in North-West Europe that year the British Field Marshal stands out supremely. His leadership was based on the sound principle of not risking the lives of his troops unnecessarily, of ensuring that they were given the maximum support in any undertaking and that the goal was worth the expense. To write this off as over-caution and slowness, which facile observers of the scene from afar have done since Alamein, is grossly to misappreciate the requirements of modern war. Montgomery's strategic touch was as sure as his tenacity of purpose.

In Normandy his calculated plan was to draw an ever-increasing weight of German armour against the 21st Army Group and away from the Western flank, from which the Americans were due to break out and to launch Patton's armoured pursuit. As the enemy commanders fell into the trap, he and his troops had to take the punishment for seven weeks while fainter hearts began to lose faith and to accuse him of lack of drive. But he knew from experience (something which other Allied commanders seem to have failed to grasp) that if you take on good German troops you must be prepared to fight it out with them to the end; it may take twelve days as at Alamein, or weeks as at Caen, according to circumstances, but victory means bitter if unspectacular fighting.

Again, the sure, confident touch is evident in the Ardennes crisis of December, though victory there, whatever the press on either side of the Atlantic was to make of it, was in the end due to the fighting qualities of the individual American soldier and it is typical of Montgomery that he is on record as saying so at the time.

There were, of course, mistakes and Mr. Thompson points, for example, to the failure to see that the crossings over the Albert Canal were secured in time, when Montgomery was preoccupied not with caution but with the exploitation of the German defeat by a deep thrust towards northern Germany; none of the so-called Great Captains have been without their lapses and this one might be compared with Napoleon's carelessness at Quatre Bras, which went far towards costing him Waterloo. But Montgomery was able to win his last battle.

It is probable, and Eighth Army soldiers would find it ironic in view of the origin of the expression, that Montgomery "belly-ached" too long on the subject of the land forces command. He was almost certainly technically correct but the demand became increasingly unrealistic in view of the great pressures exerted by public opinion in the United States and the vastly superior American contribution in terms of manpower and material. He would hardly claim to be a diplomatist with his prickly, Old Testament regard for what he considered to be the underlying strategic truths, but he was not less diplomatic than Bradley or Devers and compared with Patton he remains the patron saint of diplomacy. He went as far as he could in order to achieve what he thought was right and withdrew when he realized that the stress was approaching breaking point.

There has been a facile tendency to accuse him of showmanship, but his public relations were generally directed towards making himself known to his soldiers and he was never hyper-sensitive to the reaction of press and radio as his American colleagues, especially Patton, undoubtedly were. A study of this campaign surely reveals him as a confident but austere commander who did not look over his shoulder or care overmuch about what was being said about him.

He disliked conferences and talk and preferred his own camp with his staff and liaison officers, as close to his troops as possible. It is not surprising, therefore, that he succeeded in doing for the British soldier what Churchill did when he [illegible] the British people.

In some quarters it has [illegible] fashionable to denigrate [illegible]gomery's achievement on the gro[illegible] that he had an overwhelming [illegible]ority of resources over his [illegible]nents, an advantage which was [illegible]tainly not enjoyed by his pre[illegible]sors, and was never called up[illegible] master adverse conditions or to manoeuvre an enemy of su[illegible] strength. In contra-distinction [illegible] Thompson cites von Ma[illegible] Guderian and Rommel, but [illegible] not be forgotten that, withou[illegible]ing the undoubted brillianc[illegible] Manstein, these three in th[illegible] had once enjoyed a mark[illegible]ority in resources over thei[illegible] together with the initiative co[illegible] by an aggressive war.

Mr. Thompson concl[illegible] study with the following [illegible]tion:

The fortunes of war were [illegible] Field Marshal Montgomery [illegible] associates Bradley, Devers, [illegible] Clark. The Field Marshal [illegible] high among them and his [illegible] testing role. I hope that he [illegible] remembered for what he wa[illegible] professional and dedicated sold[illegible]

This may seem handsom[illegible] author as far as it goes, bu[illegible] not go far enough. History [illegible] a mean jade indeed if she [illegible] endorse such faint and [illegible] praise for a commander who [illegible] and won campaigns of [illegible] twentieth century which [illegible] more complex and inco[illegible] more testing than those of [illegible] Captains of the past.

Surrealist Poetry in France
J. H. Matthews
This, the first such study in any language, examines what the surrealists want to accomplish in poetry, why, and by what means, as exemplified in the work of sixteen surrealist poets from the 1920s to the 1960s, from Philippe Soupault and Louis Aragon to Pierre Dhainaut and Vincent Bounoure. ($9.50)

Wallace Stevens' "Whole Harmonium"
Richard Allen Blessing
Wallace Stevens saw the whole of his poetry as a unified "grand poem", and this critical work treats it from that viewpoint. Seen thus, each poem takes on a new context in relation to the whole, its meaning altered by the fresh perspective. As the author says, the body of Stevens' work taken as a single poem "is a remarkable effort to present a dynamic symbol for a dynamic universe." ($7.50)

Poetic Vision and the Psychedelic Experience
R. A. Durr
Juxtaposing the works of such poets as Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Blake and the accounts of psychedelic experiences reported by Huxley, De Ropp, Leary, and others, Durr explores the similarities—which he believes are numerous, striking, and of the essence—between the world of psychedelic vision and the world of imaginative literature, in a book that is both provocative and profound. ($9.00)

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SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND HIS UNIQUE MESSAGE
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54 Holland Park, London, W.11.

Erasmus the cautious humanist

[illegible] GERLO:
[illegible] et ses portraitistes
[illegible] Nieuwkoop: De Graaf. [illegible] guilders.

[illegible]ER and ERASMUS:
[illegible] Will and Salvation
[illegible]: *De Libero Arbitrio*. Translated and edited by E. Gordon Rupp [illegible] A. N. Marlow.
[illegible]: *De Servo Arbitrio*. Translated and edited by Philip S. Watson [illegible] Drewery.
Library of Christian Classics. [illegible] XVII. 348pp. S.C.M. Press.

[illegible] H. BAINTON:
[illegible] of Christendom
[illegible] Collins. £2 10s.

[illegible] Omnia Desiderii Erasmi [illegible]
[illegible] Primi, Tomus Primus.
[illegible] Amsterdam: North-Holland [illegible] Company. 290 florins.

[illegible] have recently been two quin[illegible]aries of Erasmus's birth, cele[illegible] in Switzerland in 1966 and in [illegible] in 1969. Nothing could [illegible] illustrate the enduring enigma [illegible] by Erasmus during and [illegible] his lifetime than that the [illegible] evidence for his date of [illegible] should still, after five centu[illegible] point in two directions at once.

[illegible] the numerous portraits fit [illegible] the enigma. The monograph [illegible] them by Aloïs Gerlo, [illegible] *et ses portraitistes*, has been [illegible] for the (Dutch) centenary. [illegible] remind us of the choice [illegible] the reflective, sensitive and [illegible] concerned subject of the [illegible] Metsijs diptych, the coarse[illegible] and bitingly supercilious [illegible] of the 1520 Dürer sketch, [illegible] the thin-lipped but saddened [illegible] ironic figure depicted by [illegible] from 1523. As with the [illegible] of birth, there is no shortage [illegible], but it is oblique, com[illegible] and contradictory, like so [illegible] in Erasmian studies.

[illegible] mistake made by Erasmus's [illegible]poraries and by most subsequent [illegible] scholars was to insist on [illegible] the enigma by stamping on [illegible] views a profile which can [illegible] be shown not to fit. Even [illegible] revolutionary thesis on [illegible] has dated, because it in[illegible] on solving a genuine enigma. [illegible] was sensitive, vulnerable [illegible] of his own views, [illegible] until he was, on any [illegible] fifty. Even after 1516, [illegible] whole radical and ambi[illegible] programme was at least semi[illegible] discernible, he remained [illegible] concerned with its [illegible] and balances. Never politi[illegible] hypersensitive and [illegible], also waspish, probably [illegible], his powerful thought [illegible] out in concentric cir[illegible] disbelief—in this alone much [illegible] Voltaire's. Whatever was right, [illegible] felt strongly that scholastic [illegible], the religion of works, [illegible] of interior moral piety, [illegible] to a faulty Vulgate, the [illegible] of Julius II, Luther's [illegible] self-determination to man, [illegible] in any shape or form, were [illegible]

[illegible] of Erasmus has been [illegible] in recent years. We [illegible] on from the intellectual [illegible] uncommitted to the strug[illegible] his time and fastidiously [illegible] social, religious and [illegible] polemics, to the learned [illegible] humanist, earnestly con[illegible] to promote the values of the [illegible] the Mount and the [illegible] doctrine of the redemption. [illegible] has not yet changed [illegible]. Where so many commit[illegible] in the crucible of [illegible], Erasmus's views remained [illegible] sanity. [illegible] everywhere but [illegible] Erasmus's unnerving [illegible] derived in [illegible] training, but [illegible] scholars have too often [illegible] unwillingness [illegible] in the political [illegible] Christendom [illegible] not yet [illegible] no religious, political, social, or educational issue of his time on which Erasmus failed to take the advanced position. Reading him today, it is difficult not to reflect how much he had to pay for being right.

In 1511, Erasmus issued the *Praise of Folly*. He was at least forty-three years old. Generations have applauded this biting satire of ecclesiastical worldliness and medieval monasticism. Scholars have analysed its send-up of the classical paradigms for encomia. Editors have puzzled over its text and commentators have assiduously identified most of the allusions. No one has yet mentioned that it must be a work of melancholy whimsy, the biting self-parody of a man whose intellectual assurance is betrayed by emotional uncertainty, and whose disappointed experience of post-Renaissance Italy had driven him into the momentary retreat of the security afforded by his close friendship with Thomas More.

In 1511, Erasmus had published very little. The *Enchiridion* of 1503-04 had allied apologetic with exhortation; but it was a hasty work, supporting interior, evangelical piety with a crassly Neo-Platonist psychology, important only in the light of what was to come, and too clearly indebted to Pico della Mirandola to bear the weight which has been put on it. The *Adages* had grown from the 818 proverbs in the *Collectanea* of 1500 to 3,260 in the Aldine *Chiliades* of 1508. But the fusion of biblical and classical worlds, of which Margaret Mann Phillips has written so perceptively in her study of the *Adages*, was not yet fully accomplished.

For all the virtuoso brilliance of its satirical techniques, its controlled ambivalence, and the steadfastness with which it attacks superstition, ecclesiastical abuse and clerical worldliness, the *Praise of Folly* is astonishingly tentative. Its failure to establish any tonic key by which Folly's voice might be related to that of Erasmus reveals real uncertainty. Folly speaks with at least four voices. The first represents youth, vitality, freedom from care, and praises all that is subversive of hierarchy and authority. The second, more astringent, strips the illusions from the pitiful and the grotesque to praise the ignorant and the mad. The consciousness of paradox begins to weigh down the text. Banter turns to acid as, without any change of tone or style, Folly throws in the long list of pious superstitions. The third voice is still harsher, as Folly turns to the theologians, monks and prelates; but the fourth voice is the most paradoxical of all. It turns the mock encomium into a real one with its moving and totally serious panegyric of the Pauline Folly of the cross, expressed in terms which deliberately excluded the learned if evangelical humanism to which, by 1511, Erasmus had dedicated his life.

After the Froben *Adages* of 1515, the Jerome letters and the prefatory material for the *Novum Instrumentum* of 1516, the note of intellectual uncertainty diminishes. There is no more nostalgia for the secure, unlettered piety of Erasmus's youth. Only the subtlety, the control of nuance, the unending checks and balances remain to remind us how tentative and exploratory so many of his views and attitudes were.

Erasmus's intellectual position and programme achieved definition only slowly, as he groped tentatively and at times erratically, with waspish arrogance and painful diffidence, towards the connexion he felt to exist between evangelical

A sketch of Erasmus by Holbein in Myconius's copy of "Praise of Folly."

reform, the personal and social values of Neo-Platonist humanism, the restoration of classical rhetoric, textual criticism and educational reform. His achievement was to establish this connexion and to anchor the advanced values of an earlier Neo-Platonist humanism firmly in the text of the Church's own revelation. But the pole of his attitudes was the belief that human perfection was something intrinsic to human moral achievement. Against the scholastics who defended the strenuous and apparently arbitrarily prescribed "works" of late medieval religion, Erasmus held that even religious perfection was intrinsic to the highest moral development of which human nature was capable. Against Luther's anti-Pelagian denial of free will, Erasmus upheld man's autonomous power of self-determining moral choice.

Luther thought Erasmus's position Pelagian, and although Erasmus never made a directly Pelagian statement, it is true that the early sixteenth century knew no way of reconciling an autonomous human power of self-determination to good with a non-Pelagian theory of grace. Molina was to solve the dilemma in 1585, but only at the cost of re-importing the quasi-chronological distinction between divine acts rejected by the whole nominalist tradition. The obliqueness of so many of Erasmus's theological statements is due to his consciousness of the dilemma, finally to be solved by regarding nature itself as redeemed, and therefore as capable of accepting grace in virtue not of its own powers but of its redeemed aspirations.

Erasmus came astonishingly close to this solution, in spite of his awareness that it meant allowing grace to the Pagans, a view too radical in its dissociation of faith from justification to be more than cautiously explored by anyone who valued his orthodoxy. Marsilio Ficino had come very near to affirming the sanctity of Socrates in a famous letter from which Erasmus took the reference to "Saint Socrates" in the 1522 *Convivium religiosum*, and Lefèvre d'Etaples had defended the evangelical humanist view that religious perfection was intrinsic to moral achievement by suggesting in his 1512 commentary on the Pauline epistles that the unevangelized Americans might be saved by observing the natural moral law. Erasmus went farther than either in the preface to his 1523 edition of the *Tusculan Disputations*. But the delicate theological status of pagan virtue even more than the apparently Pelagian implications of his concept of free will accounts for the peculiarly elliptical nature of his theological thought and the enduring uncertainty of his tone.

It is encouraging that interest is rising fast today in an author so concerned with nuance and so conciliatory in an atmosphere poisoned by warring factions. There have been three English translations of the *Praise of Folly* since 1940. The past few years have seen Craig Thompson's excellent English edition of the *Colloquies* and Margaret Mann Phillips's remarkable study of the *Adages*. There are recent critical editions of the *Ciceronianus* and the *De pueris*. The Library of Christian Classics has just published an annotated translation of the *De libero arbitrio* together with Luther's *De servo arbitrio*. Roland Bainton's *Erasmus of Christendom*, published a year ago in America and now in England, at last provides us with a really excellent general introduction to Erasmian studies. Above all, however, there is the Canadian project to translate the complete Erasmus and the new Dutch critical edition of the *Omnia Opera* to be published in about thirty volumes over about twenty years.

The decisive step forward in Erasmian studies was undoubtedly achieved by the completion of the P. S. Allen edition of the *Opus Epistolarum*. Its tersely informative notes and introductions still contain somewhere virtually all that is known of Erasmus's life and circumstances. It is not the least significant service to scholarship rendered by the Clarendon Press to have kept the magnificent twelve-volume set, including index, on sale at a total cost of less than twenty-five pounds.

The list price of the first volume of the new critical edition is eighty dollars. No volume may be purchased separately. Subsequent volumes are likely to be smaller, but even, assuming present currency parities and no inflation, the set is unlikely to cost very much less than a thousand pounds. Photographic reprints of the famous ten-volume Leclerc edition (Leiden 1703-07) have recently been obtainable at around £120. Superb, though the first volume of the new critical edition undoubtedly is, librarians are going to wonder whether it might have been produced more cheaply and, if not, whether tourist facilities might not have been preferable to luxury-class accommodation.

It is certainly true that we urgently need critical editions of those works which Erasmus revised or to which he added, in order to know what was written at which date. The *Praise of Folly* expanded by about one-eighth between 1511 and 1522. For other works, however, it seems possible that printed variants will not much illuminate a properly chosen copy-text, often the last Froben edition before Erasmus's death in 1536. It was not for nothing that Erasmus repeatedly went to Basle to see his works through the press. The text of the *Praise of Folly*, happily allotted to Professor Clarence Miller who published important critical notes on it in 1966, may well prove a test case. It seems probable that there is no corruption in the Leiden or subsequent texts which cannot be put right simply by consulting the Froben editions.

It is of course possible that the cost of the new edition is only marginally increased by the need to establish and list variants, even if they have little interest. But there remains the disturbing fact that Professor Margolin's excellent critical edition of the *De pueris*, roughly the same length as the first volume of the new Dutch *Opera*, costs only a third of the price. However much one welcomes a properly critical edition of Erasmus's works, it remains possible to regret that the committee chose to embark on a venture which may yet prove to be beyond its resources, instead of issuing separately available critical editions of those works which require them and printing the rest from copy-texts justified in scholarly introductions. Such an arrangement would presumably have cost less than half as much, have been available in less than half the time and would have had the added advantage that any unsatisfactory volume might have been reworked.

In this first volume, the introductions are excellent and linguistically uniform. The Gouda manuscript of the *Anti-barbarorum liber* (1494 or 1495) is published together with the 1520 version and the volume contains the translations from Libanius, Galen, Euripides and Lucian as well as the commentary on the *Nux* attributed to Ovid. Abstracting from the simultaneous publication of the two versions of the *Anti-barbarorum liber*, the variants are rarely preferable to the copy-text printed. The volume is in every way superbly achieved, and even the most cost-conscious of librarians will rightly be tempted. They may wish for a cheaper alternative but they will undoubtedly wish the whole magnificent enterprise a successful conclusion.

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Euro-centric notions and Afro-centric meanings

L. H. GANN and PETER DUIGNAN (Editors):
Colonialism in Africa: 1870-1960
Volume 1: The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870-1914.
532pp. Cambridge University Press. £5.

"Do you know what historians remind me of?", George Meredith once asked Carlyle. "They are like a row of men working in a potato field, with their eyes and noses in the furrow and their other end turned toward heaven." This initial book in a projected four-volume history of modern Africa claims to be a summary of existing knowledge about colonialism before 1914. It is in fact more a sample of the subject's recent historiography and as such provides tons of potatoes but few large views. For lack of them fifteen regional articles by different contributors, most of whom are restating previously published findings, leave overall plan and theme in disarray. A true reflection of the present situation in these studies, it is precisely the confusion of standpoints and interpretations that makes this a significant book. For the disarray is a result of adding new Afro-centric meanings to old Euro-centric notions of imperialism, the broad implications of which still await synthesis.

Modern colonialism is a beast of infinite variety whose behaviour, however ugly in fact, is intellectually fascinating because its head lies in industrial society while its detached body moves in and lives off pre-industrial society. Why suddenly toward the end of the last century it should have sprawled across African jungle and bush is a question that has provoked one of the liveliest of recent historical controversies. What were its motives? A capitalist plot? Or were they more philanthropic or strategic than economic? Did the flag follow the trade or the Cross? And was it a catastrophe destroying an African Garden of Eden or a necessary intervention of modernity in an African hell?

Before this controversy inevitably buried its original concepts under piles of local minutiae, it had uncovered new motives and causes in Egypt and Africa to complement the comparatively weak drives from Europe. The debate should have established that the beast was moved as much by the exigences of African resistance and collaboration with European agents as by the chanceries and counting-houses of London, Paris and Berlin.

In their "Reflections on imperialism and the scramble", the editors merely outline the controversy without attempting to synthesize its results. Judicious but defeated, they conclude that "no unitary theory will ever untangle for us the richness and variety of the historical skein. . . . The history of European imperialism can . . . be written only in a polycentric fashion."

Defiantly and perhaps properly none the less, a surprisingly large number of the contributions are Euro-centric in approach. For Clio in Africa, bent on serving national ideology, black has long been beautiful. Apparently, however, the editors believe that recent efforts to put the African back into African history have pushed the European too far out of it, leaving *Hamlet* without the prince. There are, accordingly, conventional accounts of French, German, Belgian, Portuguese and European missionary motives from the metropolitan standpoint, although curiously enough the British are entirely omitted. And there is Professor Stenger's chapter on the origins of the Congo Free State—a particular monument to that ancient but heroic style of imperial history in which the white empire-builder created everything while the African did nothing. "All the features peculiar to the Free State", he concludes, "thus derived their origin from the person of its sovereign. The influence of the African environment was negligible, that of the metropolitan milieu scarcely less so."

Gently reproving such Euro-centric royalism, Professor Ajayi remarks that "a political entity brought into being on African soil by the will of a European" alone is hardly conceivable. Altogether the metropolitan third of the volume succeeds in stressing the uniqueness of each power's motives for occupying a part of the continent, at the cost of leaving the reader in the dark about the concatenations of international rivalries, interests and illusions that prompted them all together to rush into the continent at the same time.

Colonialism in Africa and Asia, as Sir John Seeley taught as early as 1882, was as much a function of indigenous politics as it was of the expansion of Europe; and African collaborators were as necessary to its working as European agents. Essentially it was a process in which a few Europeans armed with superior firepower, technology and organization cajoled African multitudes into conquering and administering themselves at their own expense under pro-consular direction.

Such processes cannot be understood without correlating external with internal factors and combining Euro-centric and Afro-centric points of view. The most useful chapters are regional case studies showing how, through vicissitudes of African resistance and collaboration the European invader brought this extraordinary situation about. Terence Ranger's brilliant treatment of [illegible] can reactions in east and [illegible] Africa perhaps overemphasizes [illegible] can resistance and underestimates [illegible] extent of African collabor[illegible] John Flint's analysis of inter[illegible] between alien agents and indige[illegible] politics in Nigeria is better [illegible] anced, while Harold Mar[illegible] article on Ethiopia shows how, ex[illegible] tionally, indigenous rulers [illegible] manipulate Europeans as colla[illegible] tors and thus save their indep[illegible] ence. Once again, however, the [illegible] erage provided by these case st[illegible] is heavy for West Africa [illegible] comparatively slight for East [illegible] South Africa and omits [illegible] Africa entirely.

If at first some African le[illegible] like Samory, Ja Ja, Lobe[illegible] Gelele and Dingaan resisted, [illegible] others rebelled later, [illegible] eventually proved hopeless. [illegible] pelled to acquiesce, and coop[illegible] with the colonial presence. [illegible] turned to the tasks of exploiti[illegible] new sources of wealth, power [illegible] education to strengthen their [illegible] tions in indigenous politics. [illegible] collaboration was by no means [illegible] conditional. Nevertheless in the [illegible] before the tricks of modernity [illegible] essary for its overthrow had [illegible] learned, the colonial regime [illegible] sustained as much by African co[illegible] borators as it was by Euro[illegible] power.

Religious independents

DAVID B. BARRETT:
Schism and Renewal in Africa
363pp. Oxford University Press. £3 5s.

In 1948 Sundkler's pioneering study of independent religious movements, mostly claiming to be Christian, among the Zulu of South Africa placed this striking African phenomenon firmly on the academic map. Since then there have been major studies of other areas or particular movements, but no substantial survey of these independent religious developments across the whole of Black Africa. *Schism and Renewal in Africa* now goes a long way towards providing this kind of study, although Dr. Barrett confines himself to that section of the whole movement which calls itself Christian and can be described as the African independent churches. The neo-pagan or nativistic movements are therefore excluded, and the division between the two sectors is drawn where their members consciously place it. Only examination of each movement in some depth could establish whether this is correct, so that there is some uncertainty about the real nature of his data, and Dr. Barrett himself does not maintain the distinction in his tribal inventory of movements. Nor does he take sufficient account of the great range in the nature of the movements that might be placed in the allegedly Christian portion of the whole spectrum. Therefore, in spite of its comprehensiveness, there are still many more modern religious movements in Africa than even this survey encompasses; but in view of the riches here offered it would be ungracious to complain, and we may even be grateful that the author has chosen this restriction.

Schism and Renewal in Africa offers the fullest collection of information on this subject available, and will be useful to many in the large number of disciplines concerned today with this phenomenon. The excellent photographs are a study in themselves, and there are fifty pages of classified information in appendixes, of which the directory of independent churches, and the inventory of independency in each of 227 tribes are especially useful; there is also a large map showing the ethnic incidence of independency over the whole of Africa.

The theoretical aspect is most stimulating and exciting, for Dr. Barrett attempts to treat all the movements as one phenomenon for which a general theory can be devised. This takes two forms: first the search for a scale on which proneness to independency can be measured in any particular tribe, and on the basis of which predictions can be made about the imminence of a movement [illegible] appeared. This "zeitgeist" scale, or scale of religious tension, uses eighteen variables drawn partly from the traditional life of a tribe, and partly from the degree of its encounter with Christianity; the latter is related especially to how long this encounter has existed and how far the scriptures have been available in the vernacular. (When a tribe scores somewhere about half-way up the scale, stand by for a prophet movement if it has not already had one!) The technical aspects of this will no doubt draw fire from the sophisticates in data handling, but it is a suggestive hypothesis for others to refine, and anything that warns the older churches and missions to be more alert and sensitive than they have been in the past is to be welcomed.

The second and related theoretical task is the search for causes that are universally applicable, over and above the various contributory factors in individual cases. One of these is described as the "failure in love", and in sympathy with African culture, on the part of missionaries. This is something for those concerned to take to heart, although it does less than justice to missionaries, especially to the great linguists and anthropologists among them, and does not account for the large number of separations from all-African churches. But Dr. Barrett speaks as missionary to missionaries and others, and should be listened to.

The other main cause, the effects of access to the scripture, is undoubtedly most important, for the Bible has tremendous prestige and authority among the independents and is of course often seriously misunderstood. This needs to be reckoned with by translators and distributors. On the face of it there is support for the older Roman Catholic claim that such schisms are the inevitable result of such free access to the Bible, even though a policy of controlled access is now seen to be impossible, and the answer is being found in aids to Bible study.

These theories are tested on the one tribe where Dr. Barrett has done fieldwork of any consequence, the Luo of Kenya, and especially on the Church of Christ in Africa, where they fit well. Although this is not typical of most movements of the past fifty years in West or South Africa, yet the theses remain suggestive even where the zeitgeist scale begins to run into trouble.

Africanists are going to quote this book widely—as they have done with Sundkler's—as if it applied to the whole phenomenon in Africa. They should remember its professed limitations, and also check particular facts before quoting them; inevitably there are some errors, and the rapid changes in Africa soon overtake some of the data. However the book will remain a landmark in its field for many branches of African studies, and also for the study of similar phenomena in other continents. It also stands as a testimony to the industry and the lively mind of its author for whom it represents a decade of work in the difficult conditions of modern Africa. [illegible]

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Region by region

R. MANSELL PROTHERO (Editor):
A Geography of Africa
480pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £3 10s.

This book consists of eight regional essays on Africa's fundamental characteristics and problems with introductory and concluding essays by the editor. Most of them have been written by British geographers who have spent several years teaching in African universities, deal with areas that they know well and are able to discuss authoritatively. Dr. Prothero states that he gave his contributors full freedom to develop the approaches that seemed most appropriate to the regions with which they are concerned, encouraging them to emphasize ideas and principles and to consider a theme or number of themes most relevant to the region. As a result the themes are many and the contributions vary a good deal in character.

J. I. Clarke, writing on North-West Africa, directs attention to demographic changes, notably those resulting from the departure of Europeans, urbanization and the growth of the oil industry in the past score of years. K. M. Barbour's essay on the Nile Basin also dwells on population distribution and increasing numbers, but over a much longer period of time. His essay appears to have been completed before the Six Day War and the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967. He is somewhat misleading in stating that the effect of the high dam on the Nile will be to control the annual flow completely; in fact, in years of very high discharge some water will escape to the Mediterranean and a sequence of dry years could still present problems of supply that the dam cannot solve. Otherwise this is a remarkably sound study of the region.

The editor has written a chapter on North-East Africa, by which he means Somalia, taking up a tenth of the volume. This seems excessive when one considers that Somalia's population is less than 1 per cent of that of the continent as a whole. The tensions in the region, the subject with which the author is mainly concerned, have relaxed recently but they are likely to persist for many years; the relaxation may only be temporary and the essay is of lasting value.

D. N. McMaster, in discussing influences and trends in land use in East Africa, first discusses a [illegible] of systematic elements—structure, climate, vegetation and suchlike—on a regional basis. This is a procedure that the editor stigmatizes as [illegible] lowed only by time. Neverthe[illegible] this contribution is one of the [illegible] in the volume. Mr. McMaster d[illegible] attention to the lack of rese[illegible] work on the intensification of [illegible] culture around large towns, a [illegible] ject which seems to be one of [illegible] importance throughout the co[illegible] nent. He has very little to say [illegible] recent agricultural develop[illegible] policy in Tanzania.

G. Kay reviews the histor[illegible] European settlement in South[illegible] tral Africa. He notes that [illegible] number of Europeans at wor[illegible] farms in Rhodesia is less than [illegible] and suggests that lessons lea[illegible] Kenya from the settlement [illegible] African cultivators in forme[illegible] areas could well be usef[illegible] new republic.

T. I. D. Fair emphasi[illegible] bonds as well as the barri[illegible] multiracial Southern Africa, [illegible] shows very clearly the ext[illegible] which the whites have moved [illegible] the towns, a quarter of a mil[illegible] them over the past three de[illegible] so, while the numbers of [illegible] whites in the rural areas [illegible] creased. Yet by 1960 two[illegible] the urban population wa[illegible] white, and in the major in[illegible] areas Africans formed two[illegible] the labour forces. Everyw[illegible] whites are being increasin[illegible] numbered.

The last two essays [illegible] than the others. J. McKay [illegible] the Congo Kinshasa econom[illegible] years around the granting [illegible] pendence. B. W. Hodder [illegible] researches have been [illegible] into Yoruba markets [illegible] growth and change in We[illegible] trade, pointing out that loca[illegible] as external trade has [illegible] been in the hands of [illegible] The editor concludes [illegible] with a section entitled [illegible] pects".

One might criticize one [illegible] the maps for minor errors [illegible] that no one will suppose [illegible] map on page 331 that [illegible] pipeline has been constru[illegible] the Kalahari. Neverthele[illegible] *graphy of Africa* is excell[illegible] respects. It very effectiv[illegible] ments standard regional [illegible] directs attention to impo[illegible] and provides useful bibli[illegible]

[illegible]o birds sing

[illegible] TRIOLET:
[illegible]ignol se tait à l'aube
[illegible] Paris: Gallimard. 15fr.

[illegible] Triolet's rather awkwardly [illegible]graphical novel is a muted [illegible] death, a mild aspiration [illegible] le néant. Its form is spare [illegible]: the author's jacket [illegible]s it to be tragic. Ten men [illegible] woman, friends in their [illegible] arrange in old age a final [illegible] meeting. Held within the [illegible]ities—of action: a dinner [illegible] of place: a dining-room and [illegible] of time: a single night—[illegible] converse, reminisce, make [illegible] if the future existed. Their [illegible] is in fact a rendezvous [illegible]ath. The "heroine" in the [illegible] leaves the "room" of [illegible]ities and evasions, as in [illegible] to die "outside".

[illegible] story moves between a [illegible] account of the often [illegible] gestures and words of the [illegible] and the actual dreams of [illegible] protagonist (printed [illegible] in brown type). The [illegible] lovers along the border between reality and illusion, in a kind of stream of semi-consciousness.

Yet, despite the clean conception, there is little pressure of reflection or experience to flesh the lines, or sustain the reaching for significance. The fundamental images, though tightly drawn together, tend to deaden by their obviousness; and the ending, far from being a profound, tragic *topos*, turns out a platitude.

Although the most important elements of *Le Rossignol se tait à l'aube*—its basic "meaning", its setting, its controlling metaphors—lack distinction, a poignant emotional voice and an acute sense of visual scene give to certain moments a deeper personality. The feeling of life withdrawing from the aged is convincingly rendered. The irruption into the consciousness of the characters, at the end of the novel, of the contemporary world of the young is well staged and emotionally right. In general, the writing seems to gather life when Mme. Triolet relies not on statement but on free images, unconnected with her basic pattern-making.

[illegible]iddle register

[illegible]ALAZZESCHI:
[illegible]
[illegible] Milan: Mondadori. L.2,000.

[illegible] a long interruption, Aldo [illegible]chi came out in 1967 with a [illegible] Doge, which, much more [illegible] other major, and realistic [illegible] of the 1930s, reminded [illegible] of his first novel, *Il codice* [illegible] a fantastic and surrealistic [illegible] 1911. The present novel is [illegible] in this vein, and indeed [illegible] a sort of mechanical re-[illegible] of a trick which had [illegible] enjoyable and successful in *Il* [illegible] the suspense created in the [illegible] of a whole city by the [illegible] announcement of a great [illegible] will be proclaimed "next [illegible]"; but when Sunday comes [illegible] is always postponed [illegible] date.

[illegible] is a foundling whom the [illegible] have ordered to be [illegible] in great secrecy. Succes-[illegible] announcements divulge [illegible] that it is a boy, that [illegible] be seen "for reasons of [illegible]", that he is a monster. [illegible] later the monstrosity is disclosed to the public: his head is where his private parts should be, and vice versa. Despite his malformation Stefanino has a wonderful voice, and the whole city wants to hear him. A public concert, when the monster sings Gounod's "Ave Maria", covered with a black veil, is not enough. In a crescendo of excitement and fury (which obviously satirizes the Italian enthusiasm for pop singers) the people storm the castle where Stefanino is kept, only to discover that the beautiful voice is a gramophone.

A master like Palazzeschi can, of course, get away with anything, and the fact that in his eighties he can still indulge with gusto in the sort of fanciful *divertimenti* that made his youthful production so enjoyable is in itself a wonder. *Stefanino* does not, however, add much to his previous work, and to read a portentous meaning into it, as some critics have done, seems out of proportion. One of them, for example, found the novel's message to be that there should be more reason in the life of our senses and more virility in our intellect. But can a *divertimento* really have a message?

[illegible]uble vision

[illegible]DO ARENAS:
[illegible] del alba
[illegible] Aires: Brújula.

[illegible] country which, unlike [illegible] in Latin America, has [illegible] fertile and imagina-[illegible] tradition, and although [illegible] revolutionary authorities [illegible] to encourage experi-[illegible] foreigners than by [illegible] Arenas's *Celestino* [illegible] evidence that the [illegible] on Cuban writ-[illegible] excessively dour [illegible] [illegible] vision that a [illegible] child has of a [illegible] rural [illegible] The son of an [illegible] brought up [illegible] grudging and [illegible] The child [illegible] between [illegible] and whenever [illegible] him with an [illegible] off and escape [illegible] one point he is [illegible] page [illegible] eight [illegible] period, and when things get really desperate the whole family eats the grandfather, in no way impairing his health, however, if one is to judge by his subsequent boisterous savagery.

In many ways the child's madness is an excuse for Reinaldo Arenas to indulge in a surrealist romp, a point easily made when the child blithely quotes Arab and Chinese poems which his retarded and provincial mind could scarcely have encountered. Arenas seems to share the belief of his Parisian compatriot Severo Sarduy (whose *De donde son los cantantes* was reviewed in the *TLS* of November 14, 1968) that gratuitousness is the proper function of literature, and one of the merits of this novel indeed is the lively and convincing manner in which the fantasies are sustained. But there is also a great deal of human and social significance in the child's pathetic longing for affection in so unsympathetic an environment.

Celestino antes del alba is a distinguished first novel in what has now become an eminent tradition of fantastic literature in Latin America, and it deserves the considerable publicity it has received in the Spanish-speaking world.

Sauce for the gander

ALBA DE CESPEDES:
La Bambolona
Translated by Isabel Quigly.
272pp. Michael Joseph. 35s.

Signora de Céspedes, whose *Quaderno proibito* and *Nessuno torna indietro* are among the few Italian best-sellers with genuine literary merit, has scored again. Her *Bambolona*, highly praised by the critics, has sold very well and has been made into a successful film. No doubt the ingredients of instant success are very deftly used by this experienced novelist: plenty of sex, a good deal of class and money, several spoonfuls of lust for power, keep boiling with constant suspense, add a pinch of political pepper . . . and the reader will swallow everything.

The story is simple. A rich, sophisticated, middle-aged lawyer, Giulio, falls in love with a poor, fat, but very attractive young woman, Ivana. He promises to marry her and is accepted by her family as a legitimate suitor. The more he sees her, the more he wants her, but at the same time he is disgusted by her vulgarity and decides that soon after the marriage he will get rid of her: the lawyer knows all the tricks. But the ignorant girl and her cunning parents, whose mastery in feigning honesty is one of the wonders of this novel, finally have Giulio at their mercy: the girl is pregnant! Giulio, who never touched her, has to part with much of his money.

The vain attempts of Giulio at seducing Ivana and the successful exploitation of his passion by the girl make up a very good story. But for Signora de Céspedes this was not enough and, perhaps sharing her hero's philosophy that "the only really authentic activity for a man is to empty all his strength into the womb of a young woman", she has poured over her *pasticcio all'italiana* a quite unnecessary sauce of other stories of love and sex. The result is indigestion.

Miss Quigly's translation has been received with great praise, and praise indeed it deserves, for it sounds convincingly English and reads smoothly. But a random check shows that *oltretutto* becomes "above all", *una bella mangiata e una nuotata* "a good meal and a swim", *perché il marito le passi tutte le fantasie* "let her husband pour all his fantasies into her", *una prozia* "a maid", *pensa e ripensa* (meaning: "thinking very hard") becomes an imperative: "now think, think hard". Minor points, perhaps, but when the translator is so gifted, it is a pity she is not more accurate.

Sleeve notes

PETER O. CHOTJEWITZ:
Vom Leben und Lernen
224pp. Darmstadt: März. DM 14.

Although the reader is spared the series of views of the author naked—alternating, incidentally, with close-ups of old boots—that were such a prominent element in his previous book, *Roman*, Peter Chotjewitz's latest work is not without its moments of embarrassment. The cover features ten identical manikins, each consisting of the photographed head of the writer mounted on the disproportionately small body of a soldier in redcoat-type uniform. This, of course, is quite pleasant in its way; but irritation sets in as, toying with the contents of the book, the reader quickly realizes that the basic structural idea is a disquieting kind of editorial wizardry.

There are four main parts to the book: "Main Text", "Notes", "Notes on the Notes", and "Afterword". "The Notes" take up the greater part of the book, being independent pieces of imaginative writing that have little or nothing to do with the passages they are supposed to annotate, or indeed with each other. Thus when one of the protagonists of the "Main Text" (a twenty-page dialogue about contemporary life and culture) says that in bygone times he might have been the penniless son of a court dwarf, we find under note 8 Chotjewitz's income-tax return for January-September, 1967; and when mention is made of the Bible, note 16 gives us a jazzed-up version of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.

The poor workmanship of *Vom Leben und Lernen* is the more regrettable in that Peter Chotjewitz has made similar fundamental errors of judgment in earlier works, and the pop literature aims he is setting himself are in themselves very interesting and worthwhile. Indeed much of the book is originally conceived and nicely executed. But isolated effective items cannot make of a loose pile a shapely structure.

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L'Italia dei quarantacinque giorni
442pp. Florence: La Nuova Italia, for the Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione. L. 3,880.

VALDO FUSI :
Fiori Rossi al Martinetto
253pp. Milan : Mursia. L 1,500

GIAMPAOLO PANSA :
L'esercito di Salò
215pp. Florence : La Nuova Italia. L.1,800.

The forty-five days, as all Italians know but some in Britain may need reminding, ran from July 25, 1943, the overthrow of Mussolini, to September 8, when the Italian capitulation was announced. It is a period which lies at the root of most modern Italian history, but though it has frequently been described it has not often been well documented. The merit of *L'Italia dei quarantacinque giorni* is that it prints, in appendixes which take up nearly two-thirds of its pages, a full series of official reports, taken from the state archives, and also extracts from contemporary newspapers and from clandestine pamphlets.

As a contribution to history these documents are of very great value. Apart from facts, they give the atmosphere of the time. Take an example at random: a report from the chief of police of Piacenza whose first three paragraphs provide a concise and revealing summary of public feeling which can be applied with little change to the country as a whole. It speaks of unequivocal popular enthusiasm for the fall of fascism, based both on hopes for a better national life and on the certainty that the war will end; but adds that everyone is afraid of what the Germans' reaction may be. This fear was indeed always uppermost in the mind of Marshal Badoglio, whose aim was to fool the Germans into believing he would fight on as a faithful ally while making arrangements with Britain and America for a sudden switch over to their side. He was afraid also of what the fascists might do. It must have seemed a rational fear, for the system appeared so strong and so prevalent in every sphere of national life; but the titan was hollow. The fascists renounced their leaders and their faith with almost total unanimity and in the documents here they hardly appear in any other role than as victims of popular attack for not removing their badges quickly enough. Badoglio's third fear was the communists, and he told prefects and chiefs of police to except them from the amnesties granted to political prisoners. It was another vain fear. With some exceptions the communists were only anxious not to rock the boat and to support Badoglio while he got rid of the Germans.

For all his worries, therefore, Badoglio was in a pretty strong position on the domestic front. The documentation of the programmes of the political parties which is given here demonstrates this with great clearness. Nevertheless his forty-five days ended in disaster, with his flight from Rome and the occupation of two-thirds of Italy by the Germans. His character was his destiny. He proceeded in so devious and conspiratorial a way that he left everyone in the dark; and when, in the end, he had to run the risks which he had so timidly avoided, he found his own troops, by his own fault, so unprepared as to be a useless weapon.

The capitulation and its military background are perhaps of most interest to British readers. Here the authors are very sound. They have been guided largely by Ruggero Zangrandi (whose *1943 : l' 8 settembre* was reviewed in the *TLS* on August 8, 1968). They follow him correctly in repudiating the myth about the Allies "anticipating" by four days the announcement of the Armistice (a myth fabricated, probably by Badoglio, at a very early stage and adorned by him with fictitious details in his memoirs); but they are wrong to follow him in stating that Ambrosio, the Chief of General Staff, knew the correct date before he was officially informed by the Allies. The authors express the view that it would have been militarily more advantageous to break with the Germans straightaway on July 25. This is arguable, since large German reinforcements poured into Italy during the forty-five days, whereas at the beginning they were taken completely by surprise by the fall of fascism. But such a plan would have been wholly foreign to Badoglio's temperament; he thought it unsafe to show his hand until he could make arrangements for the British and the Americans in overwhelming strength, so he hoped, to fly to his aid against his current ally.

It deserves to be recorded with gratitude, not unmixed with surprise, that the authors have included a most admirable Order of Battle of the German forces in Italy which is full, accurate (with one trivial misprint), detailed and easy for the general reader to understand.

Both *Fiori Rossi al Martinetto* and *L'esercito di Salò* are concerned with the grim twenty months of Italian history when the northern part of the country formed the "Italian Social Republic", also known, from the town which was its temporary capital, as the Republic of Salò. At the risk, however, of sounding paradoxical or downright callous it can be said that both of them are good for many laughs. It is not for nothing that Wodehouse, Pelham Grenville figures in Valdo Fusi's index. On turning to the page referred to we are faced by the tragic situation of the author's brother, incarcerated in the prison of the S.S. expecting torture and death; he writes on the corner of the label which was sent in with a packet from the family: "Not so much to eat: I'm not the Empress of Blandings." Rarely indeed has the spirit of the Italian Resistance been better illustrated—its courage and determination and its gallant lightheartedness—than in this book which deals with one of the best-known tragedies of the Occupation. For this is an account of "the Turin Trial" and the book bears on its front cover a photograph of the place where the eight patriots were executed and on its back a facsimile of the official report of how they died.

Valdo Fusi was one of the fourteen on trial: he was acquitted for lack of evidence. In fact he was as guilty as the others since he was a member of the Military Committee of the Piedmont Committee of National Liberation. He recounts with much humour how he was nominated to that position of honour and danger by a fellow-lawyer, without being given much chance of refusing. He presents himself, in fact, in a thoroughly Wodehousian and self-deprecatory style, like Bertie Wooster being urged by Aunt Dahlia to feats beyond his capacity. In truth, behind the bantering, he clearly appears both brave and resourceful; he is the only one of the conspirators who very nearly avoided the trap into which they fell and he shared the exploits of the partisans in the Piedmontese mountains, particularly in the spectacular if short-lived liberation of Domodossola.

Fiori Rossi al Martinetto gains from having as its centre a full description of the trial itself, on April 2, 1944. It was more of a drumhead court-martial than a trial, although Fusi, by his own efforts, managed to arrange for the accused to be defended. Mussolini himself had ordered it to be held at top speed, with the executions to follow immediately, in order to intimidate the partisans of Piedmont, the boldest and best organized in all Upper Italy. He failed in his object; the courage shown by the condemned only added greater fervour to the resistance.

The humorous side of *L'esercito di Salò* derives less from lightness of style than from the essential risibility of the institutions it describes. Fascism has always had its funny side, arising from the contrast between its pompous theories and its defective practice. A system which claims superior efficiency based on rigid principles of authority and leadership reveals itself as riddled with rivalries and divided into private fiefs. When, with German support, the revived fascist state set itself up in North Italy it naturally decided that, being still at war, it ought to have an army. But what sort of an army? The prevailing idea was that it had better be a purely party army, under Renato Ricci, an old-time fascist with links with the S.S. Mussolini's first order of the day, therefore, decreed that the Blackshirt Militia should be the sole basis of the Republic's armed forces. But then Graziani be[...] get the ear of the Duce, and [...] was that the army shou[...] "national and apolitical, and [...] lutely unitary". For two [...] they fought it out and the res[...] a typical fascist comprom[...] fact, two compromises. There [...] be both an "apolitical" army [...] divisions eventually) and a [...] army, to be called the G[...] Nazionale Repubblicana; but [...] latter was not exclusively [...] because it included not on[...] militia but also the remains [...] Polizia dell'Africa Italiana a[...] Carabinieri, whose tradition[...] strongly monarchist.

The G.N.R. had an unhapp[...] The Carabinieri were never [...] in it and before long were [...] and sent to Germany. [...] summer of 1944 Ricci had [...] sacked, what was left of his [...] mand incorporated in the army [...] the party only retained the [...] "Black Brigades" as its [...] force. These were used exclusi[...] the civil war against their [...] countrymen; indeed the same is [...] to a large extent of Graziani's [...] as well, although it had a brie[...] unhappy experience in action [...] Serchio front at the hands [...] brigade of the 8th Indian Div[...] The total of the Italian Rep[...] forces was very large by the [...] 1944 but the quality was low[...]

L'esercito di Salò has the adva[...] of being based exclusively on [...] sources. Chief among them a[...] files of secret reports produced [...] in the headquarters of the G.N.R. [...] Brescia, summarizing report[...] the provincial commands. These [...] for almost eleven months from [...] ember, 1943, to October, 1944, [...] are a primary source of great [...] for the history of this period. [...] are written in that engagingly [...] style which Italians in high [...] particularly fascists, like to [...] commenting on fellow-Italians [...] their orders. They are also ext[...] diverting from their manner of [...] cribing scenes of the greatest [...] cipline in the most formal bu[...] cratic prose.

Italians, Slavs and Austrians

DENNISON I. RUSINOW :
Italy's Austrian Heritage, 1914-1946
423pp. Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press. £3 15s.

This is an interesting and thoughtful book which does justice to a host of conflicting passions. The author appreciates the qualities of Austrian administration in the later nineteenth century, but he shows that the intensification of nationalistic indignation against the Austrian regime not only destroyed the latter but also poisoned the nation-states which succeeded it. Hitler was the child of mad German racialism in Habsburg Austria, but similarly Italian Fascism was the child of fanatical emotions among Austria's Italians. These emotions were partially provoked by the extremist Austrian Germans who mocked at the Italian claim to an Italian university within Austria.

They were also aroused by the stiffening of Slovene and Croat resistance to Italian domination in the Adriatic provinces. With the [...] tion of 1907, the first in Austria when virtually every man over twenty-four could vote, Slovenes and Croats largely ousted the Italians who had expected to represent Gorizia, Istria and Dalmatia in the Austrian Parliament. The Adriatic Italians felt that *italianità* had an inherent right to the homage of the southern Slavs which it had hitherto received, and that the Austrian authorities naturally favoured German interests and deliberately encouraged the Slavs at the Italians' expense.

[...] the peace treaties presented Italy with the Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass, though this was mostly demanded only by chauvinist cranks like Ettore Tolomei; it was, of course, supported by those looking for strategic frontiers. Woodrow Wilson agreed to the Brenner, but made difficulties about Italian claims in the Adriatic where three races competed in great confusion. The last governments of liberal Italy now tried to treat their non-Italians liberally and set out to reconcile the new Yugoslav state, with a view to succeeding Austria as the dominant influence in south-eastern Europe. The irrational paroxysms of the new Italian patriots, the nationalists and now the fascists, were hurled against the exhausted liberal state; their demonstrations against the Germans in Bolzano and the Slavs in Trieste and, above all, their occupation of Fiume, were the beginning of the fascist seizure of the state, for D'Annunzio intended to march from Fiume to Rome. Yet it was significant that in December, 1920, the Italian army and navy obeyed orders from Rome to expel D'Annunzio from Fiume. On the other hand the clash in July, 1920, which led to the burning down of the Slav centre in Trieste heralded the foundation of fascist *squadrismo*.

[...] italianization which the fascist state sponsored specifically condemned the minorities' language rights inherited from Habsburg Austria which Nitti and Giolitti had wished to continue. The fascist policy of italianization—the emphasis was upon culture rather than race—finally forced an identification of the German minority with National Socialism and of the bigger Slav minority, at first strongly clerical, with communism, the declared enemy.

In spite of the German menace, only manifest from 1933, Mussolini, egged on by many Adriatic fascists, allowed Italy to be identified with the revisionist programme which automatically condemned Italy's territorial gains since 1918. Although Hitler had always renounced the South Tyrol—and Dr. Rusinow considers the renunciation to have been genuine—this did not prevent the lopping away of all formerly Austrian territory from Italy when it came to the collapse of fascism in the summer of 1943. The Austrian gauleiters, Hofer of Tyrol and Rainer of Carinthia, descended upon Bolzen and Trieste. As Dr. Rusinow writes,

> the Gauleiter of Innsbruck recreated the ancient Crownland of the Tyrol and the Gauleiter of Klagenfurt aspired to the vacant throne of Inner Austria, both enlarged with pieces nibbled from the patrimony of St. Mark . . . the Habsburg *belle époque* was invoked, and it was repeatedly pointed out that the economic function of the Trieste emporium, crossroads of Europe, had been restored. The concept of "men of the Littoral", a separate race neither Italian nor Slav, was encouraged.

In the end Italy's fate after 1945 was settled by alien consider[...] The Cold War situation [...] expedient to cede everything [...] east of the city of Trieste [...] slavia, then still regarded [...] protégé; by way of com[...] the South Tyrol, in spite [...] from Vienna, remained [...] After twenty-four years [...] reconciliation seems today [...] visible in Bolzano (Dr. Ru[...] the Italian name for [...] reasons). As for Trieste, [...] ment of 1954 appears to [...] indisputably satisfactory [...] in postwar Europe.

It is perhaps a pity that [...] publishing this book have [...] omission of references to [...] as Christopher Seton-Wat[...] *from Liberalism to Fas[...]* and Leo Valiani's *La [...] dell'Austria-Ungheria* (196[...] obviously relevant.

REPORT ON WORLD AFFAIRS

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NEW LIGHT ON SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

From a paper given by Dr. James M. Osborn at the Annual Meeting of the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York yesterday

[THE]SE LETTERS of Alexander Pope, Jonathan Swift, Dr. Johnson, James Boswell and eighteenth-century literary [...]re preserved by the hundreds. [...] readers may fail to realize [...]e correspondence of earlier [...] is very scanty, especially [...] of the major Elizabethan [...] Shakespeare's correspond[ence, de]spite the digging of generations of bardolators, still consists of [...] letter, that from Richard [...] which actually was never [...] poet. Of Spenser's letters [...] are preserved in copies, and [...] three addressed to him. For [...]on, who enjoyed decades of [...]enty-two letters from his [...] known but none addressed [...]. Since Sir Walter Ralegh was [...] a man of action, 229 of his [...] are preserved, but only one [...] to him. Most famous men [...] keep the letters they received, [...] their eminence prompted [...] to preserve examples of their [...]

[...]ppy exception to this situation [...] Sir Philip Sidney. Because [...] connexions, his brilliant [per]sonal charm and precocious [...] of European politics, [...] early numbered among his [...]dents dozens of intellectual [...]n both sides of the Channel. [...] preserved many of his [...] now scattered in archives and [...]. Fortunately for posterity [...] had a secretary, Stephen [...] who kept letters from [...]'s friends. In 1633 the letters [...] from Hubert Languet, a [...] who served as Ambassador [of t]he Elector of Saxony at [...] capitals, reached print, and [...] dozen others ultimately [...] in the British Museum [...] libraries.

[...] 1967, seventy-six other [...] hitherto unknown to Sidney [...] emerged from the Phillipps [...] and were sold in Sotheby's. They have been described [...] most important group of [...] concerning a major [...] poet to be offered at [...] within living memory. [...] even letters are of special [...] Church interest, being from Robert Dorsett to his former [...] Philip Sidney, concerning his [...] Robert, then an under[graduate] at the House, Sotheby's [...] them as a separate lot. [...] they were purchased [...] Christ Church Library. The [...]-five letters to Sidney [...] from Pietro Bizari about [...] which Languet forwarded to [...] acquired for the Osborn [...] in the Yale University [...] they have been translated [...] and incorporated in a [...] titled *Young Philip* [...] ready for the press.

[...] these seventy-six letters [...] new insights into [...] character and personality, [...] the major lines of [...], they do supply many [...] details. The new docu[ments ...] about his learned [...] the Continent, some of [...] heretofore been mere [...] add new personalities [...] correspondents and [...] and fill in our know[ledge ...] and events with [...] was concerned during 1572-1577, a period most [...] Sidney spent outside of [...]

[...] visited Strasbourg in [...] of 1572 and again in the [...] has been known, but [...] bring out more fully [...] learned members [...] The eminent jur[ist ...] Lobbet, whom Sidney [...] in Paris, became a [...] during the second visit, [...] letters are among [...] group. Numeri[...] series of any [...] Because Lob[bet ...] about political [...] about Sid[ney ...]bourg, though [...] in the house [...] host distin[...] of wine. ("le [...] pure de Sep[...] [...] prevailed [...] to England [...] a fifteen-year-old boy, Johannes Hájek, son of Dr. Thaddeus Hájek, a man highly regarded by Languet and other Protestant intellectuals. Because young Hájek intended to "study virtue", Sidney arranged for him to accompany Robert Sidney to Christ Church. The eleven letters from Canon Robert Dorsett among the newly recovered group report on Hájek's lack of progress after a visit to Elizabeth's Court had turned his head. Canon Dorsett also prods Sidney for money to support Hájek at Oxford. Another Dorsett letter reveals that Sidney had given explicit instructions that Robert Sidney and his companions should undergo supervised exercise in such skills as throwing the javelin.

Chronologically, the two earliest letters in the new group came to the nineteen-year-old Sidney from a youth three years his junior and another, then just eighteen. They were François, Comte de Chastillon, heir to the Admiral de Coligny, the martyr of the St. Bartholomew's Eve Massacre, and François's cousin Guy-Paul, Comte de Laval. These letters confirm that Sidney's route to Vienna took him to Basle, from whence he departed about the first of June, 1573.

Most of Sidney's correspondents were mature and learned men such as the French Ambassador at Vienna, Jean de Vulcob. Hence it is pleasant to find a letter from the young Jean Bochetel, cousin and secretary to Vulcob. Written to Sidney at Venice, Bochetel's letter indicates that Sidney and he were both attracted to objects other than books.

> I must tell you that our hostess (nôtre hôtesse) was much incensed because you did not take your leave of her when you departed. Had this not been so I had intended to serve as your *locum tenens* during your absence, but I have not dared to visit her since. . . . When you return here again you will hear more of this—I only fear that those lovely courtesans [in Venice] will keep you there.

The four letters from Vulcob to Sidney in the new group are much more proper, reporting on affairs of state and the progress of Henry of Valois en route to be crowned King of Poland.

In Venice, Sidney received a warm reception from the French Ambassador, Arnauld du Ferrier, a liberal-minded man who did not openly become a Protestant until he retired from the King's service. The literary light of the Embassy, François Perrot de Mésières, became a friend to Sidney and wrote six letters preserved among the newly recovered group. Following the usual pattern they contain news rather than literary topics, with one exception. This letter, written late in November, 1574, reveals that Sidney had sent Perrot a poem satirizing conditions in Poland whence Sidney had recently returned from a disagreeable journey. Clearly Sidney had not written the satirical poem, though Perrot responded to his request by sending some Italian verses which may have been from Perrot's own pen. There is no evidence during these years that Sidney took any interest in belles-lettres, though he was actively reading serious books, several of which are named in Perrot's letters.

Sidney also knew and admired Lord Edward Windsor, third Baron Windsor of Stanwell, a Catholic living in Venice, the only resident Englishman whose name occurs in the correspondence. After Windsor's untimely death a mutual friend, Don Cesare Carrafa, sent several letters describing the sad event. Carrafa wrote poetry in Spanish and Latin as well as in his native tongue, but neither the four newly recovered letters nor two others in the British Museum indicate that verse-writing was a bond of interest between Carrafa and Sidney.

Nor is there any literary chat in two letters from the poet Cesare Pavese, a name hitherto unmentioned in books on Sidney. His letters speak familiarly of Robert Corbet and George Lewknor, indicating that he knew many travelling Englishmen well. Indeed, among all the new letters from Sidney's friends the only original poem sent to him is a long Latin hymn addressed to God sent by Matthäus Wacker of Constanz.

In Venice Sidney also became well acquainted with Wolfgang Zündelin, former tutor to Prince Christopher Palatine, a man whose learning, sagacity, and integrity were praised by Languet and his friends. Now settled in Venice he supported himself by writing intelligence newsletters to various German Protestant princes. Sidney became fond of Zündelin and engaged his services. Because Zündelin's primary function was to supply Sidney with news of international affairs, the body of his letters report the latest moves and rumoured plans of the Turks, the Spaniards, the Muscovites and others on the broad chess-board of Europe. But his letters do offer bits of information about Sidney, such as his goings and comings, or news of other friends, or when Sidney had recently written to his uncle the Earl of Leicester.

From Venice Sidney went on to Padua, where he spent most of the winter in study. He confessed to Zündelin that his health had declined, which Zündelin had reason to believe was caused by over-application to his books. He advised Sidney to guard his "health and all that depends on it, the well-being not so much of yourself as of the state. You will be able neither to give your country what you choose, nor what it expects from you." Throughout the new letters Sidney's future mission as a statesman is both stated and implicit. Languet and other former pupils of Melanchthon saw in Sidney the long-desired future leader of a Protestant League; the brilliant young aristocrat who could lead a united front of Continental Lutherans, Calvinists, Huguenots, and English, each group separately inferior to the forces of the Counter-Reformation and the ambitions of Philip of Spain.

Sidney's closest friends among the Paduan students were scions of the German Protestant aristocracy. Letters from several of them, written after leaving Padua, are among the newly recovered group. Sidney had already become a friend of Philip, Count of Hanau, perhaps the most influential of the Germans, and of his Hofmeister, Paul von Welsberg. Because one letter from the Count has been printed his name is familiar to Sidney scholars. Another young nobleman whose name is already well known was Michael, Baron Slavata, a Bohemian, who visited Sidney in England in 1575; one of Slavata's letters is among the new group. Otto, Count Solms and Fabian, Baron and Burgrave of Dohna, also wrote to Sidney twice after he had left Padua, where they had enjoyed each other's company, as did Johann Matthäus Wacker von Wackenfels, represented by three letters.

Another of Sidney's German friends at Padua, unknown except for a letter in the newly recovered group, was Johann Conrad Brüning. Writing a year after Sidney's departure, Brüning reveals that he had also known Sidney in Paris and Strasbourg, dates which suggest that, like Sidney, he had fled from the St. Bartholomew's Eve Massacre. Since parting at Padua Brüning had travelled south to Naples where in a brawl he had in self-defence killed a young German nobleman. This situation prevented Brüning from going back to Germany so he proposed that Sidney help him to come to England until the difficulties were settled so that he may return to his ancestral home.

That Sidney, who disliked the German language, should have lived surrounded by members of the German "nation" is no more surprising than his apparent lack of interest in any Englishmen then studying at Padua. Not a single member of the English "nation" is even named. Incidentally, the new letters establish Sidney's address while in Padua; his entourage lived in the house of Hercole Bologhese, at the Pozzo della Vacca.

That Sidney returned from Padua to Vienna in the company of the Count of Hanau has long been known, but not the route they followed. The travellers did not retrace the direct route from Venice, but went north through the Alps over the Brenner Pass to Innsbruck and down through Passau to Ortenburg, Bavaria. Hanau had estates and a castle there. Undoubtedly it was this adventure through the high Alps, and not the gentler Carnic Alps near Villach by which they entered Italy, that Sidney's companion Ludowick Bryskett had in mind when he wrote,

> . . . and with him [Sidney] didst scale
> The craggie rocks of th'Alpes and Appenine!
> Still with the muses sporting.

The new letters throw various flashes of light on Bryskett, who spent almost as much time travelling about on undisclosed errands as he passed under the same roof with Sidney. On some occasions he served as courier for Sidney, and on other missions undoubtedly for Sir Henry and possibly Lord Leicester. After Sidney's return to England in 1575 Bryskett made repeated return visits to Italy, for he often carried letters between Zündelin and Sidney.

Several letters in the newly recovered group came to Sidney from learned men whom he knew through the introductions of Languet. There are two from Dr. Andreas Paull, Counsellor to the Elector of Saxony. Another is written by the eminent Calvinist theologian, Dr. Zacharias Ursinus of Heidelberg University. Dr. Georg Purkircher of Bratislava, whom Sidney had visited in the late summer of 1573, wrote from Vienna prompted by finding there a letter from Sidney. Because Sidney reported having toasted Purkircher in French wine, he answered, "I shall reply here, for the time being, in Viennese wine and toast you, when I get home, in Hungarian. You are also greeted by my fellow drinkers", five of whom he names.

On Sidney's return journey he had been accompanied from Dresden to Frankfurt by a Frenchman named Thomas Lenormand, about whom little has been known. The packet of new correspondence includes one letter from Lenormand, written three months later on arrival in England. Hitherto, Sidney scholars have believed that the Duc d'Alençon, suitor to Queen Elizabeth, had in 1576 invited Sidney to visit him in France. A new letter shows that Alençon did not invite Sidney directly, but through Lenormand.

Sidney had expected to stop at Paris before crossing the Channel, but abruptly altered his route and returned through Antwerp. From one of Lobbet's letters we learn that a messenger from the Earl of Leicester (undoubtedly Thomas Wilkes, Clerk of the Council) had reached Sidney at the height of the Easter season, and instructed him to return at once. Other letters from Lobbet supply further details about Sidney: an agent named Zölcher reported on Sidney's health and good spirits at Antwerp and later carried letters to him in England; on another occasion Lobbet sent Sidney a Polish almanac. One of four new letters from Théophile de Banos at Frankfurt reveals that he had received a gift, presumably of money, in return for which he was sending Sidney a ring. Two letters from the Master of Posts at Antwerp, the Italian Giovanni Battista de Tassis, reveal that Languet employed his services in forwarding letters, and arranged for Sidney to do so.

Although the new letters were sorted out as being from foreign friends, one letter by a young Scottish courtier is bound with them. Written in French and signed "Jehan Setoun", it appeared to the person who filed the letters (probably Stephen Le Seur) as if it had come from across the Channel. The writer actually was Sir John Seton, later Lord Barns, who reported that he had conveyed to the boy-king of Scotland, who became King James of England, "the great desire you have to be of service to him, and to kiss his hand". The letter shows how aware Sidney was that the son of Mary Stuart stood just two heartbeats away from the throne of England.

Beside the new facts these letters

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help us to understand better the character and personality of young Philip Sidney. Clearly the young man had the reputation of being a wit, and his erudite correspondents welcomed these exchanges. For example, Dr. Lobbet wrote in March, 1576:

> Yesterday I received your letter . . . from which I perceive that while you were writing it you were in a merry mood. You were evidently made light-headed by the approach of spring. Indeed, in the very opening your sprightly wit is at once apparent, in your calling me "your best Lobbet", because you know no Lobbet better than me. I am glad that you are merry, and such jokes make me all the more fond of you

In rejoinder Lobbet cited a term then current in scholastic logic, "baroco", which he exemplified with spurious syllogisms as a parody of excesses then popular in scholastic philosophy.

Beyond the actual information contained in the six-dozen new letters, the investigations which grew out of them have resulted in the discovery of other facts, in the re-interpretation of many incidents, and in an important addition to the canon of Sidney's prose writings. For example, examination of the document in the Venetian archives giving permission for Sidney and his servants to bear arms reveals the names of his servants of whom two, John Fisher and Harry White, were previously unidentified. Again, in studying available reports of the St. Bartholomew's Eve Massacre in Paris to which Sidney was an eye-witness, there emerges strong likelihood that he was under the protection of the Duc de Nevers, who forced him to ride pillion behind a French nobleman to watch the slaughter of the French Protestants, and to view the mangled remains of Admiral de Coligny.

The famous interview between Sidney and Don John of Austria is another case where re-examination of evidence proved fruitful. Sidney, travelling as Queen Elizabeth's special ambassador to Rudolph, the Holy Roman Emperor, stopped on his way through Belgium to call on Don John, then serving as Spanish Vice-Regent in the Low Countries. Fulke Greville's account, which has been accepted as gospel, tells that when Sidney came to kiss Don John's hand,

> at the first, in his Spanish haughture, he gave him access as by descent to a youth, of grace as to a stranger, and in particular competition (as he conceived) to an enemy; yet after a while that he had taken his just altitude, he found himself so stricken with this extraordinary Planet, the the beholders wondered to see what ingenuous tribute that brave and high-minded Prince paid to his worth, giving more honour and respect to this hopefull young Gentleman than to Embassadors of mighty Princes

The tone of hagiography in Greville's account does not match the facts brought out in contemporary documents. Don John was thirty-two, just nine years older than Sidney who not only came as ambassador of a mighty prince but himself ranked as a prince since he was "Proregis Hibernici filius". In spite of Don John's fame as head of the Catholic forces at Lepanto he was found "to be a man of small discourse and little experience", whose habit of repetition revealed an inflexible mind. Sidney's charm undoubtedly facilitated a gentle response, but Don John was thoroughly prepared to answer with smiles and soft answers.

Dr. Wilson, the English Ambassador to the Low Countries, was present and reported to Walsingham that Sidney's "plain speech had fair and sweet answers". This "plain speech" was actually a stiff reprimand to Don John for allowing English and Scottish traitors to hang around his court, much to the annoyance of Elizabeth and her advisers. Thus in this famous interview, despite diplomatic formalities, the position of the two principals was largely the opposite of the manner in which Sidney's biographers have depicted it.

The new prose work concerns Sidney's added ambassadorial mission in 1577, after his return from Prague and Heidelberg. As Sidney approached Ostend to take ship for England he received a message from Queen Elizabeth asking him to turn back and visit William of Orange, the leader of resistance in the Low Countries. The nominal purpose was for Sidney to replace his uncle, the Earl of Leicester at the christening of William's daughter, to be named Elizabeth after England's Queen. The real purpose, however, was political: the Dutch leaders wished to get Elizabeth's help in driving out the Spaniards completely. They had offered her the sovereignty of their country which she declined because it would have required too great an involvement. So Sidney was sent to William under pretext of the baptism to define the terms now proposed by the Netherlanders.

The summary of William's proposals is preserved in two copies of a manuscript report in the Public Record Office and a third in the British Museum. These copies are headed "Certaine notes concerning the state of the Prince of Orenge and the Provinces of Holland and Zelande, as they were in the monthe of may 1577". The text (lacking one paragraph) was printed in 1890 by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove in volume nine of his monumental *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de L'Angleterre, sous le Regne de Philippe II* and there attributed to Sidney, though no book on Sidney mentions it. All available evidence confirms Sidney's authorship:

(1) The chronology fits Sidney's visit to William, from May 28 to May 30. He reached London on June 8, and promptly went to Court, then resident at Greenwich.

(2) William was treating with a man of assured status who would report directly to the Queen, e.g., the phrase "He [William] willed me likewise to give Her Majestie to understand". The only such man known to have been with the Prince at this time was "my Lorde Ambassador Mr. Sidney".

(3) On June 2, William wrote directly to Elizabeth to confirm by the tone of his letter what Sidney would report, saying that he "has requested Mr. Sidney, her ambassador with the Emperor, to more particularly declare to her" the details of the proposed agreement.

(4) The style is that of Sidney's [illegible] exposition, similar to the report [illegible] wrote to Walsingham from [illegible] on May 3, summarizing under a [illegible] of points the situation at the C[illegible] Holy Roman Emperor.

(5) The only other diplomat [illegible] tioned between William and [illegible] Elizabeth at this period was [illegible] Rogers. But Rogers had left [illegible] for England about May 8, when [Cer]tain Notes could not have been [illegible] before May 18.

Accordingly, in the abse[nce of] documents with contrary ev[idence] *Certain Notes* should hencefo[rth be] printed with Sidney's prose [illegible] Although not intended as a [illegible] exercise, it belongs with [illegible] other writings. Approximately [illegible] words in length, it adds about [illegible] cent to the small corpus of S[idney's] prose, excluding his letters a[nd the] *Arcadia*. Any sustained pro[duct of] Sidney's pen is important for [what]ever it may reveal about the [work] and the man who wrote it.

The letters addressed to S[idney] reflect as in a mirror the in[terests,] tastes, and assumptions [of the] recipient. These letters help [us] know Sidney as he appeared [to his] friends, the promising young [aristo]crat, brilliant, charming and [illegible] the hoped-for future leader of [a Pro]testant League, which could [defend] the reformed faith against the [Church] of Rome. Small wonder the[n that his] death at the age of thirty-one [while] fighting the Spaniards in the [Netherlands] occasioned national grief, a [illegible] loss that extended far beyond [the] shores of his native land.

The Pierpont Morgan Library over nineteen years

In 1949 the first quarter-century of the Pierpont Morgan Library as a chartered institution of the State of New York was celebrated by an exhibition of 256 items selected from the acquisitions of that period. This was also a tribute, nobly expressed in Dr. Lawrence C. Wroth's introduction to the catalogue, to Belle da Costa Greene, who had just retired after forty-two years as Morgan Librarian. Twenty-one years later—the Morgan seems to specialize in apposite dating—comes *A Review of Acquisitions, 1949-1968* ($15. Paperback, $7.50), which again coincides with a change of management and like its predecessor documents the acquisitive achievements of the retiring director, Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr.

The earlier volume ran to sixty-seven pages of text with forty-nine plates, plus a portrait: its successor, unrestricted by any problem of exhibition space, contains exactly (and deliberately?) the same complement of illustration, but the ruthlessly succinct entries occupy no less than 178 close-set pages. The list of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts acquired (as distinct from deposited) during the two decades is complete: arranged by accession numbers it allows the retrospective eye to pick out in sequence such gems as the Jean Fouquet *Horae*, the Seitlenstetten *Missal*, the Tours *Gospels*, the leaf from the Codex Petropolitanus, the Warwick *Psalter and Book of Hours*, or the Morgan section of the masterpiece of the Master of Catherine of Cleves. Here as elsewhere in the book reference is made to the full descriptions given in one or another of the series of fifteen *Reports to the Fellows* rendered over the years since 1950 by Mr. Adams and his staff.

The section devoted to printed books is arranged alphabetically by title, which makes strange bedfellows. Item 1 is by happy accident also A1 in Goff's *Incunabula in American Libraries*, being Wynkyn de Worde's *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* [1496], but item 2 is Ackermann's *Cambridge* 1815 and item 3 is *The Education of Henry Adams* 1907; while Fanny Burney's *The Wanderer* 1814 (under d'Arblay) is sandwiched between a Bodoni (*Ara Amicitiae* 1769) and the Venice 1546 edition of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. In a few cases succinctness may be thought to have been carried too far: Rousseau's *Du Contract Social* 1762 and Yeats's *The Wanderings of Oisin* 1889 are described (among others) as presentation copies—one longs to know to whom; also, to whom [illegible] inscribed the dedication copy of *The House of a Hundred Lights* (1900) by Frederic Ridgely Torrence, which Hart's *Oxford Companion to American Literature* describes as "a whimsical, sentimental mixture of *fin de siècle* ideas".

Since the presumably more spectacular printed books have already been described in the *Reports* and are therefore at least on limited record, it may be useful to note some listed here that have not: e.g., Audubon's *The Birds of America* 1827-38 (of which a copy recently brought £90,000 at auction in London), R. M. Ballantyne's *The Coral Island* 1858, Anne Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* 1848, Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* [1809], Coleridge's *Christabel* 1816, Emily Dickinson's *Poems* 1890 and a string of others, Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* 1888 — M. R. James's copy in a binding (1918) designed by Bruce Rogers, Gray's *Odes* 1757, Helvétius's *De L'Esprit* 1758, Joyce's *Ulysses* 1922, D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* 1928, five titles by John Leland, Edna St. Vincent Millay's *Renascence* 1917, one of the fifteen copies on Japan vellum, Nicolas Robert's *Recueil des Plantes* 1788, printed on vellum and painted in colour by H. J. and P. J. Redouté, Shelley's *An Address to the Irish People* 1812, and *Les Vertues des Eauex et des Herbes* [Lyons, Claude Nourry about 1515?] with one woodcut, apparently undescribed.

Bindings, as a department particularly dear to Mr. Adams (from whom the *Review* was successfully kept a complete secret), have a section to themselves. They are listed alphabetically by country of origin of the binding, not of the book, and within that alphabet chronologically by the ascribed date of the binding. The ninety-two entries make up a most remarkable assemblage, both for quality and range. Only six of them (superhuman restraint) are illustrated, but each of them had been fully dealt with in the appropriate *Report*. A cursory check discloses that the editor has maintained, despite doubts subsequently expressed by some other bibliopegic authorities, the 1962 judgment that the revamping for Henri II of France of the "Rome, c.1543" binding on the lovely Ruano manuscript of Della Casa's *De Officiis* (Plate 26) was executed in France.

The list of autograph letters and manuscripts is, frankly, rather exhausting. It occupies sixty-six pages, with an average of twenty entries to the page, some of them multiple — Coleridge, Hawthorne, Ruskin, Scott, and Voltaire running into hundreds, and a dozen more, like the Brontës, into scores; not to mention such "archives" as the Bowerswell Papers (Ruskin-Millais), Ernest Dowson's, W. E. Henley's and Fairfax Murray's papers, or the Edward Johnston calligraphic collection. A good many names unfamiliar on this side of the Atlantic or accounted for by the presence at the Morgan of the files of Harper & Bros., for many years the doyen of New York publishers, and of England, to Galeazzo Sforza (1475) and Beatrice d'Este to the Emperor Maximillian (1496), but also Dwight David Eisenhower to Junius S. Morgan (1954) and Edward W. Bok (whose *Americanization* is still a classic document) to the antiquarian bookseller Ernest Dressel North (1912). A supplement to this section describes briefly a group of important collections either on deposit or recently acquired and not yet fully catalogued; among them the Dannie N. Heineman library, the unrivalled assemblage of Gilbert and Sullivan (much of it from Carroll A. Wilson and Mr. Reginald Allen), and the collection of musical manuscripts, autograph letters and engraved or printed scores formed by the late Mrs. Mary Flagler Cary, the extent and quality of which, on its promised unveiling in November, may be expected to cause some sharp breath-taking among international musicologists. As a footnote, let it be recorded that Mr. Herbert Cahoon (presumably, as Curator) has made a useful addition to the abbreviated nomenclature in this department: *Ams* for "autograph manuscript" (as distinct from *Ms* for "manuscript").

The final fifty-page section, deservedly allowed sixteen plates, lists drawings and prints (are Blake's products "books"? anyway here is that very rare suite *There is No Natural Religion* [c.1788]). This has always been a powerful department at the Morgan, and the recorded examples range from Signorelli and Fra Bartolomeo to Paul Helleu's 1913 crayon portrait of Belle Greene and three studies by Disney, Walter E., 1901-1966, American.

This *Review* is not only a summary of achievement and a report to the world of scholarship and connoisseurship from one of its internationally significant components. Like its predecessor twenty years ago, it marks the turning of a page. In the *TLS* of November 13, 1948, we observed that "the name of Miss Belle da Costa Greene is so inseparably connected with that of the Morgan Library that it will be difficult for many people to envisage their separation. . . . The prescriptive dignity of her office, her single-minded devotion to the library, her native ability and shrewdness, her uncanny sense of quality in books or manuscripts of any period, and a certain imperious pungency of tem[pera]ment combined as the years [went on] to set Miss Greene in a u[nique] position in the library world." [And] when she died, eighteen m[onths] later, the obituary notice in [*The*] *Times* estimated that "as the [un]challenged mistress of a re[nowned] institution she may well pro[ve to] have been the last of her kin[d]."

The Morgan Trustees' choic[e of a] successor to the inimitable [Miss] Greene was acclaimed in [these] columns at the time as "a sin[gularly] happy one", and the present [record] of the tangible results of Mr. [Fred]erick B. Adams's stewardship [in that] high office amply documen[ts the] accuracy of that forecast. But [the] books and manuscripts, fine [prints] and master drawings are [only] half the story, even when [the bricks] and mortar of the substa[ntial annex] added to the P.M.L. [are] thrown in. Both Mr. H[illegible] gan and Mr. Arthur [illegible] Jr., in their prefator[y contribu]tions, pay tribute to [illegible] and organization by M[r. Adams of] the Fellows of the Mor[gan Library] in 1949: a fellowship w[hich has] broadened the base on w[hich the lib]rary's purchasing funds [illegible] also, and more significantly [symbol]ized its transition, as Mr. [illegible] put it, "from a quasi-priv[ate library] to a national institution o[f scholar]ship and research". Mr. [Adams's] style has been as different [from Miss] Greene's as his frontispi[ece photo]graph (Bachrach? Karsh? [illegible] the portrait (Whistler? [illegible] Nicholson? no, actually [a photo]graph by Clarence White) [illus]trated Lawrence Wroth's [illegible] of that exotic creature [illegible] ago. The Morgan Library [enters the] 1970s with a powerful hea[illegible] a well-knit organization [illegible] based support, a highly [illegible] staff (headed by Dr. [illegible] Plummer, Mr. Cahoon [illegible] Staempfle) and an [illegible] reputation for those [illegible] dards of quality which [illegible] founder, John Pierpont [illegible] hanced by Belle da Costa [Greene and] fully maintained, alongside [illegible] scope, by Mr. Freder[ick Adams.]

Mr. Adams's succes[sor illegible] Charles Ryskamp, late[ly illegible] ton. He inherits an uni[illegible] and he will carry to it [the] good wishes of P.M.L. [bene]ficiaries in this country [illegible] his own.

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[T]he emptiest ism of them all

[STANLE]Y ROSEN:
[Nihilism]: A Philosophical Essay
[Ya]le University Press. £3 16s.

[This is] an impressive book, even [if it und]ertakes too much to be [wholly] successful. Professor [Rosen him]self says more than once [that anoth]er book would be needed [to develop c]ertain points in his argu[ment; one hop]es hope that he will write [it, for th]is subject, which is one [of great] interest and urgency. He is [trying to] grapple, as a philosopher, [with the e]mptiest of all -isms, which [has haunt]ed the imagination of [Wes]tern writers for more than [a century], but has received all too [little philos]ophical attention in the [English-sp]eaking world. Do we tend [to assum]e too readily that what [is no]t there—like the man [on the st]air—should just go away [of its own] accord, once the patent [evidence] of its non-being is correctly [grasped? P]rofessor Rosen does not [dismiss its] disquieting presence in the [manner of a] figment of fantasy merely, [though he a]dmits that our receptivity [to it is] a matter partly of mood, [and tha]t it is easier to sense its [manifes]tations than to [grasp] its intellectual meaning.

[His gen]eral approach, of course, is [to] [illegible] the present with some [illegible] of yesteryear (before [God w]as dead, or whatever), a [procedure] almost guaranteed to dis[illegible] induce, a sense of [illegible] no questions asked. [But R]osen's analysis is refresh[ingly free] from cultural nostalgia, [and he] questions from beginning [illegible] He sees himself as a disciple [of Pla]to, and he recalls us here [as in] a previous book) to Plato's [view that the] philosopher's task has not, [in his view], changed in essentials: [to] distinguish truth from [illegible] This cannot remain a [merely theore]tical activity, but necessarily [entails a] search for the primary [which] alone make the activity [possible] in the world intelligible, [and its] practice purposeful.

[Pr]ofessor Rosen sees nihilism [essent]ially a mood of boredom [in the] tradition of western Euro[pean ration]alism", the crux of his [argument is] his re-examination of the Greek conception of reason [and his] defence of it against the [att]acks mounted by Nietzsche [and Heideg]ger on the one hand, and [by] the challenge presented by Marxism and positivism on the other. He aims to show that Heidegger's charges against Platonism are not merely unsubstantiated but false. The debate centres on the relationship between truth and being as implied by the famous images of sun, divided line, and cave; and with regard particularly to the first Professor Rosen concludes:

> There is nothing in Socrates' description of the good, up to and including the passage traditionally cited to prove the radical separation of the noetic from the visible domain, to substantiate that interpretation.

In other words, Professor Rosen is trying to save Plato from appearing in the weak position of holding a dualistic metaphysics and a correspondence theory of truth. Socrates, he claims, explicitly identifies truth and being in a way similar to, although not identical with, the teaching of Heidegger. The transcendence of the good, however impossible to describe discursively or to mirror adequately, is thus analogous to the difference between Heidegger's Being and beings. What has been misunderstood, in Professor Rosen's view, is the significance of this human activity of "mirroring", the activity called "speech", which is the word used here to translate "logos". "A logos is 'true' if it mirrors or exhibits the unity of truth and being." Obviously, "true" in this sentence is a second-order term, meaning something like "correctness" in the sense in which an idea or proposition looks like its object.

But again, Professor Rosen insists that, for Plato, "there is a difference between the 'look' of an Idea and the act of 'looking at' the Idea". The latter activity, which attempts to exhibit the ultimate condition of all speech (logos), marks the point of distinction—a methodological distinction only—between the whatness of the world and its meaningfulness. "It does this by icons, both as explicitly labelled by Socrates and as furnished by Plato in the total dramatic structure of the dialogues."

Professor Rosen returns repeatedly to this point: Truth in the fullest sense is not a property of propositions or icons but is the being reflected within the icon. Or again: a "correct" dianoetic supposition is not the same as a noetic apprehension of truth. The truth of being itself would blind us like the sun; our way must be to look at things, which articulate the light. The light by which Plato meant, of course, the light of the good—is visible to us "only in and as a specific intelligible form, a *what*, or in a pattern of *whats*". Hence, Professor Rosen sees man's role as a bringing to light of the fundamental intelligibility of the world. No matter that he cannot know intelligibility itself, but only in things. The meaning of his "dialogue" or dialectical speech about things, indeed the *possibility* of meaningful speech about them, points to the true unity of being, of which his activity is an essential part. It is a failure to grasp, therefore, the symbolic significance of Plato's dialogue form which has led to a confusion of his epistemology with his ontology.

Professor Rosen's final position is difficult to define. It is certainly not monistic, for he sees the impulse towards monism as leading to the abyss where the distinction between truth and thought is drowned and the essential significance of knowledge is lost. On the other hand, the conception which he believes we must struggle to maintain, where we see "the unity within difference of nature" and the unchanging "order of the noetic whole" *together with* the infinite variability of the human psyche and situation, can scarcely be described as dualistic either. Professor Rosen does not underestimate the difficulty of establishing the relationship between the structure of speech and that of things:

> Ontologies of language, whether derived from Heidegger or Wittgenstein, desire to overcome the dualism inherent in the thesis of two structures, but the price they pay is to return to monism. . . . It may be that the problem can never be solved, or perhaps three structures rather than two or one are necessary.

The meaning of this hint is not explored, though there would seem to be echoes of it in such an aside as the following: "Socrates regards dianoetic thought as adequate to the task of speaking—*through the supplementation of discursive logos by myth*—about what cannot be spoken". In the concluding chapter, Professor Rosen tells us in his own voice that "the completion of speech and the complete satisfaction of desire define a god rather than a man"; but his own interest is evidently in the human rather than in the divine condition, and he has no intention of making the former dependent upon the latter in any overtly religious sense. On the contrary, "we must submit prayer to philosophy, and the word of god to the word of man", if we are not to fall victim to the false prophet. Professor Rosen's philosophical ideal remains paradoxical (as was that of Socrates). He urges us to seek wisdom in philosophy by aspiring towards "the complete speech of the god or sage". But his chief philosophical lesson consists in showing and warning us against *mistaken* attempts at "total speech", of the kind which (in his view) Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, and latter-day nihilists have made.

Professor Rosen's analysis of the self-defeating character of speech is interesting, and his acceptance of the "distance" from things which speech creates is doubtless wise. But his interpretation of the necessary incompleteness of thought (and so speech) as "a harmony" remains mysterious. This is not to say that his theory must be "wrong" but simply that not enough is said about it to make it very intelligible. "Desire is a mark of imperfection . . . speech is a mark of imperfection. . . . Human existence is a harmony of desire and speech." This turns out to be one underlying pattern of thought in a crucial section where Professor Rosen is trying to demonstrate the ultimately rational nature of desire in man. It sounds like an attempt to persuade Tantalus that his situation is ideal.

Part of the interest of this book resides in its structure, which skilfully analyses moments in the history of ideas to sketch a systematic critique of theoretical and practical reason. Professor Rosen confesses a certain debt to Hegel, whom he regards as a crucial figure in the evolution of the modern—rather in the manner of Karl Löwith, whom he quotes and refers to with admiration. There are points of resemblance also to Lukács's more massive treatment of this subject (under the name of "Irrationalism"), though each would doubtless consider the other's book to be a manifestation of the disease he is diagnosing. It is perhaps the fate of those treating this problem that their negative diagnosis is so much more interesting than any remedy which they propose. Professor Rosen's insight into the necessary partiality of speech is suggestive here. Is nihilism simply the art of incomplete statement practised for its own sake? If that is the case, then the desire to practise it may be inseparable from the "temptation" inherent in all thought, the creative infatuation with some newly discovered part as though it were the whole.

The idea is an attractive one, if only because it offers release from the myth that the "modern age" suffers some peculiar spiritual doom. (When was the present not doomed?) And the theory may be used to explain the incompleteness of Professor Rosen's own statements about many of the philosophers whom he considers here. For he touches on an immense range of philosophical work, attempting often in only a few paragraphs an incisive analysis of some major problem in, say, ordinary language philosophy or Heidegger's ontology (between which Professor Rosen sees a significant connexion). There is no doubt that the ghostly presence of nihilism is to be chiefly found in this no-man's-land of historico-philosophical speculation, where Kierkegaard accused Hegel of having conjured it into being.

Nihilism does, in fact, always seem to be someone-else's position—or the shadowy remnant of it—rather than one's own. Or rather, it is a combination of many shadows from all ages, which inspires the nihilistic vision. Professor Rosen makes us see the spectre by using just such a device: "If we *unite* (Descartes's) ambiguous conception of thought with the emphasis upon experiment and history illustrated by means of Machiavelli and Bacon, the result is the basis for the modern interpretation of reason." From this starting-point, then, Professor Rosen begins his defence of the Platonic conception of reason; and he evidently needs the shadows, in something more than Plato's merely metaphorical sense, in order to give us the impression that we have seen the light. In the end he seems to suggest that we can see this everywhere "in the common environment of intelligibility" which surrounds us. He asks us to place our faith in the intelligibility not of any particular Weltanschauung, but in the intelligibility of the differences between all Weltanschauungen. Here the line dividing the position he is attacking from the position he is defending becomes a rather precarious one. We are reminded of Nietzsche's attempt to define the only choice open (in his view) to an over-civilized mind, namely, that between a "positive" and a "negative" nihilism.

[Bo]oks [Re]ceived

[illegible] *Albert Museum Year[book]*. [Nu]mber One. 167pp.

[illegible] produced by a commer[cial illegible] takes the place of the [illegible] *Bulletin* issued by [illegible] which ceased publication in [illegible] as the Director ex[plains illegible] to provide a [illegible] of sub[jects illegible] belonging [illegible] than was pos[sible illegible] not necessar[ily illegible] to recent ac[quisitions illegible] the best (and [illegible] present vol[ume illegible] The Rood [illegible] concerns [illegible] architecture [illegible] as long ago [illegible] confined to [illegible] Honour [illegible] Theseus [illegible] other objects [illegible] from the thir[teenth illegible] (textiles) to [illegible] Redon litho[graphs illegible] from [illegible] Gothic [illegible] wedding.

The standard of scholarship throughout is high and if the interest of the first can be maintained in later volumes there should be no difficulty in ensuring a longer life for the *Yearbook* than the four years the deceased *Bulletin* enjoyed.

The Arts and Man. 171pp. Paris: Unesco. £4 2s.

Nothing in this volume explains why Unesco should have decided to publish a handsomely-produced "world view of the role and functions of the arts in society", but here is the result, and those teaching establishments which can afford it will surely find it very stimulating. Its main feature is a splendid selection of 325 first-rate photographs, most of them credited to Unesco itself, which show works of art, their production and their reception, in every corner of the globe. Excellently reproduced in photogravure (by Imprimeries de Bobigny), they are of exceptional beauty and interest. The texts that go with them, by nine distinguished contributors, are much more perfunctory, though Herbert Read's chapter "Art and Society" is interesting on modern civilization's lack of any "vital democratic art" and its wastage of creative talent. This is a case where the camera ranges at once more widely and more concretely than the pen.

DIEHL, GASTON. *Modigliani.* Translated by Eileen B. Hennessy. 92pp. Clematis Press. 27s. 6d.

Yet another modest monograph on the work of Modigliani. The text attempts to be conscientious, though the author relies rather too heavily on the notions and dubious testimony of Mlle. Jeanne Modigliani, who never knew her father. As a result M. Diehl adds nothing to our existing knowledge of the man or to an understanding of his art. There is unfortunately no cross-referencing between the text and the plates, which is all the more annoying in that the author seems to be writing about works which are not reproduced, though the translation is so shaky that one cannot be sure. Forty-five paintings and seven sculptures are reproduced in colour (one work being of questionable authenticity) and these are complemented by twenty-three drawings reproduced in monochrome.

Aviation

MORRIS, ALAN. *The Balloonatics.* 212pp. Jarrolds. 35s.

Service in the observation balloons of the First World War was arduous and hazardous. It was also of great value in maintaining almost continuous surveillance of enemy activities by day and night besides enabling gunfire to be directed over long periods. Mr. Morris explains, with a massive body of evidence, how the work was done on the several fronts, how in many instances the observers suffered from enemy attacks and storms, and what risks the pilots of aeroplanes took in trying to destroy the balloons. He carefully links up the work of the "balloonatics" with every big operation on the ground and, if this leads to a good deal of repetitive description, it does show the distinctive quality of this form of reconnaissance. The men who did this work led a hard life and gained none of the public recognition that attached itself to the pilots. Because of the nature of the service, this book fails in its attempt to restore the balance.

Bibliography

MANWARING, G. E. *A Bibliography of British Naval History.* 163pp. Conway Maritime Press, distributed by Patrick Stephens. £3 10s.

Comprehensive bibliographies of British naval history are virtually non-existent, so this facsimile reprint of a work first published in 1930 will be warmly welcomed by scholars and librarians. It covers the period from the earliest times to the Napoleonic wars and contains not only books but also references to periodicals and manuscript collections. These are particularly valuable. It is arranged in two parts, the first under authors and the second under subjects and is a work of painstaking scholarship. A similar book covering work written since 1930 is badly needed.

Biography and Memoirs

BERRY, PAUL. *By Royal Appointment.* A Biography of Mary Ann Clarke, Mistress of the Duke of York. 235pp. Femina Books. £2 5s.

Mary Ann Clarke is remembered, if at all, mainly for her share in that appetizing scandal, in 1809, which temporarily deprived George III's son, the Duke of York, of his post as commander-in-chief. That as the Duke's mistress she accepted bribes to obtain military commissions and promotions was beyond doubt. Mr. Berry's biography traces this clever charmer, extravagant and greedy, from her origins in a London back street, through her unhappy marriage to a drunkard, to her years of affluence and power before being discarded by her royal lover, and on to her last years of comparative poverty and obscurity. Whether the subject was worth so much labour might be questioned, but the author writes in a lively style and follows the parliamentary inquiry in great detail, giving much of the cross-examination verbatim. But how did he come to write that his heroine in youth was reported to have "played Portia in *Measure for Measure* at the Haymarket Theatre"? He calls this a "specious legend", though it looks more like a bit of stray moonshine from Belmont.

Classical Studies

ROEBUCK, CARL (Editor). *The Muses at Work.* Arts, Crafts and Professions in Ancient Greece and Rome. 294pp. M.I.T. Press. £5 17s.

This book is an amplification of lectures given in Chicago. The nine chapters, each by a different scholar, deal with Greek building, Roman imperial building, bronze-working, stone-carving, pottery manufacture, farming, sailing, trading, musicians and music, actors and acting. The author's conception is

excellent, and the book will be extremely useful to all interested in Classical antiquity. The good bibliographical references in the notes make it possible to study the various subjects further. The illustrations are on the whole well chosen, but too many are taken from previous publications instead of from photographs, and the actual reproduction is seldom good and sometimes very bad indeed.

Inevitably a book which started as a series of lectures has its unevennesses: Greece heavily outweighs Rome, except in the second chapter, and in the chapter on farming: in fact one wonders why it was necessary to drag in Rome at all. Musicians and acting do not really belong in this survey of ancient technology, and the chapter on music is weak and muddled. The early chapters are firmly technological and describe the methods of making buildings, bronze objects, sculpture in stone, and pottery; all are good, but Miss Hill on bronze is particularly adept in answering all the questions that the ordinary man wants to ask. The references to pottery need some precision: the amphora was not only used for wine, the picture of vase-painters at work is almost certainly a picture of metal-workers, and in the chapter on trade, while it is right to say that many of the finest pieces of Athenian workmanship found their market in non-Greek Etruria, there is no evidence for the statement that they were *made* for export. But these are minor blemishes in an extremely useful book.

History

HOLMES, GEOFFREY (Editor). *Britain after the Glorious Revolution. 1689-1714.* 245pp, Macmillan. £2 10s. (Paperback, 20s.).

The ten historians who contribute to this symposium cover between them all the principal aspects of English public life and politics through the reigns of William III and Anne. In what ways did the 1688 revolution really change things in England? Or did the changes come about not so much by the ending of Stuart despotism as because for the next two decades the country was almost continuously at war? These questions are looked at from the contributors' various angles: constitutional developments, foreign policy (a "profound and enduring" effect here), the Dutch king's own personality, society, the church, the politicians and the Union with Scotland. Clearly the revolution was scarcely a step towards democracy in the modern sense. "Freedom" meant privilege, and power was passing into the hands of a privileged few; it was a period of harsh punishments and the multiplication of capital crimes, almost all designed to protect property. Why did the people put up with it, one writer wonders: simply because the majority were too poor, too illiterate and too over-worked to do anything else. The book, the first in a new series called "Problems in Focus", illustrates the modern trend towards concentration on a given problem or period as viewed through the eyes of a group of historians.

Literature and Criticism

TIRMIZI, S. A. I. (Editor). *Persian Letters of Ghalib.* Pages unnumbered. Asia Publishing House. £2 10s.

As Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam remark in the introduction to their admirable *Ghalib: Life and Letters*: "We are under no illusion that our work represents anything approaching the last word, even on the limited ground which we have covered . . . it is in our view probable that other letters may yet be discovered." This expectation has been realized in the thirty-one letters which their finder, Mr. Tirmizi, has now published. The collection has been known since 1960, when it was acquired, at the discoverer's instance, by the National Archives of India. But only six of the letters were published in Qazi Abdul Wadood's research journal *Tahqiq*; and it has been left to Mr. Tirmizi, now Assistant Director of the National Archives, to edit the entire collection in a scholarly volume. These letters all belong to the period of five years during which the poet left Delhi at the end of 1825 and after staying in Firozpur-Jhirka, Kanpur, Lucknow, Banda, Allahabad, Murshidabad, and Calcutta, finally returned home, labouring under the grave disappointment of his failure to secure the pension bequeathed to him by his deceased paternal uncle, Mirza Nasr Allah Beg Khan. It has been a matter of great difficulty to arrange the letters in any logical order, although some help is given by the two prose narratives dealing with Ghalib's quarrel with literary rivals in Calcutta which accompany them in the same manuscript; nevertheless they do add a good deal to our knowledge about his stay in Calcutta. Mr. Tirmizi is of the opinion that the places and incidents connected with this stay exercised a measurable impact upon the poet's style. Mr. Wadood, who is a great authority on Ghalib, does not quite agree; but in his foreword he gives well-deserved praise to Mr. Tirmizi's very scholarly editing.

Travel and Topography

LEFEBURE, MOLLY. *Cumberland Heritage.* 272pp. Gollancz. £2 5s.

This is a gathering together of a number of articles, all connected with the Lake District, but otherwise differing a good deal in subject. Some are strictly historical, such as the account of Carlisle at the time of the '45, drawn largely from the papers of the Chancellor of the Diocese; others are more literary. Some are fairly wide in their appeal, as in the case of those chapters on hunting and folk-lore, the Carlisle Canal and the Borrowdale "black lead" mines; while some resemble [illegible] specialized essays that appear [illegible] *Transactions* of the Arch[illegible] and Antiquarian Society. M[illegible] search has gone into this w[illegible] into material not previous[illegible] able, but Miss Lefebure m[illegible] preserve a width of view [illegible] found among enthusiasts [illegible] history. She sees the Lake[illegible] context of the social history [illegible] berland as a whole, of the [illegible] and the industrial west as we[illegible] tourist area. Because of this, [illegible] cause, too, of her own [illegible] Miss Lefebure is able to [illegible] head even on a subject as no[illegible] tricky as that of Manchester[illegible] ment of Thirlmere. The re[illegible] book which, especially [illegible] readers with a reasonable [illegible] tance with the north-western [illegible] should be of lively and [illegible] interest.

Paper-backs

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Biography and Memoirs

Karl Britton: *John Stuart Mill.* (Dover. 19s.) Ward McNally: *Smithy.* (Angus and Robertson. 8s.) André Malraux: *Anti-Memoirs.* (Penguin. 10s.)

Drama

Graham Greene: *The Living Room.* (Penguin. 4s.) *Three East European Plays.* (Penguin. 8s.)

Economics

Michael Greener: *The Penguin Dictionary of Commerce.* (Penguin. 10s.)

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J. A. Baker: *The Peregrine.* (Penguin. 5s.) Monica Dickens: *No More Meadows.* (Penguin. 6s.) William Faulkner: *The Reivers.* (Penguin. 5s.) Roy Fuller: *Fantasy and Fugue.* (Penguin. 5s.) Graham Greene: *Twenty-One Stories.* (Penguin. 5s.) Thomas Keneally: *Three Cheers for the Paraclete.* (Penguin. 7s.) Richard Llewellyn: *Down Where the Moon Is Small.* (Penguin. 10s.) André Malraux: *Days of Hope.* (Penguin. 10s.) Ved Mehta: *Delinquent Chacha.* (Penguin. 4s.) Ved Mehta: *Face to Face.* (Penguin. 7s.) Chaim Potok: *The Chosen.* (Penguin. 6s.) William Thackeray: *The History of Henry Esmond.* (Penguin. 10s.) Thomas Wolfe: *You Can't Go Home Again.* (Penguin. 12s.)

History

Stanley Buder: *Pullman.* (Oxford University Press. 16s.) Allen F. Davis: *Spearheads for Reform.* (Oxford University Press. 16s.) Lyle W. Dorsett: *The Pendergast Machine.* (Oxford University Press. 16s.) Kenneth T. Jackson: *The Ku Klux Klan in the City.* (Oxford University Press. 16s.) Lionel Kochan: *Russia in Revolution.* (Paladin. 15s.) George D. Langdon, Jr.: *Pilgrim Colony.* (Yale University Press. 18s.) William Miller: *A New History of the United States.* (Paladin. 12s.) Zane L. Miller: *Boss Cox's* [illegible] (Oxford University Press. 16[illegible]) Nye and J. E. Morpurgo: *A* [illegible] *the United States,* 2 vols. [illegible] 10s. each.) John L. Stephens: [illegible] *of Travel in Central America* [illegible] *and Yucatan.* 2 vols. (Dover. [illegible] each.)

Philosophy

John Macmurray: *The Self* [illegible] (Faber. 16s.) *The Republic of* [illegible] Translated by Francis Mac[illegible] Cornford. (Oxford University [illegible] 7s. 6d.)

Social Studies

G. H. Bantock: *Freedom* [illegible] *Authority in Education.* (Faber [illegible]) Paul Bohannan: *Love, Sex and* [illegible] *Human.* (Penguin. 5s.) Seyom [illegible] *The Faces of Power.* (Columbia [illegible] sity Press. 27s.) David Daiches [illegible] *The Idea of a New University* [illegible] Deutsch. £2 2s.) Mary Douglas: [illegible] *and Danger.* (Penguin. 6s.) R. D. [illegible] and A. Esterson: *Sanity, Madness* [illegible] *the Family.* (Penguin. 7s.) Ward[illegible] Pomeroy: *Boys and Sex.* (Pen[illegible]) Robert Taber: *The War of* [illegible] (Paladin. 7s.) Harry H. Well[illegible] *Labor and the Legal Process.* (Ya[illegible] versity Press. 32s.)

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